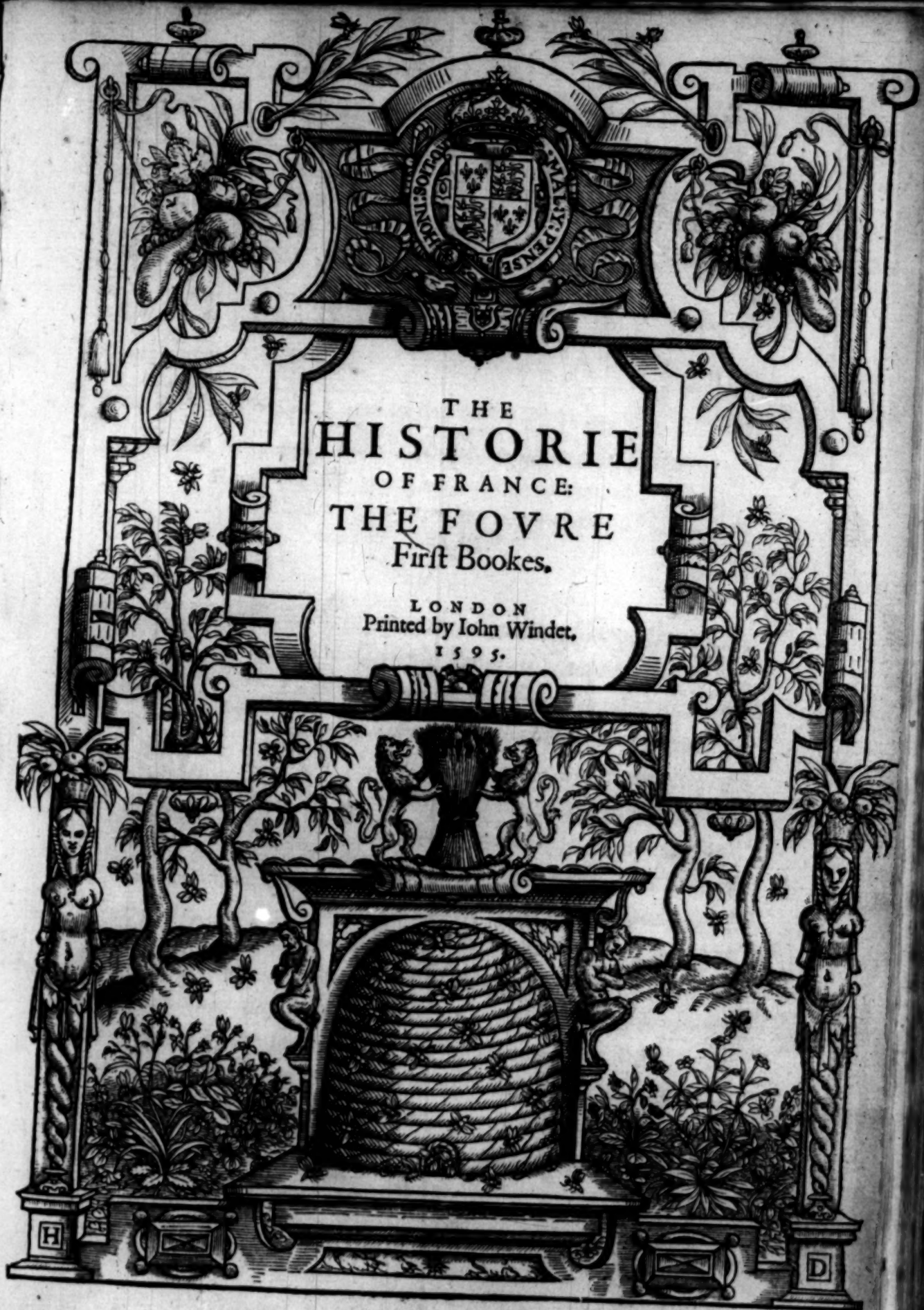
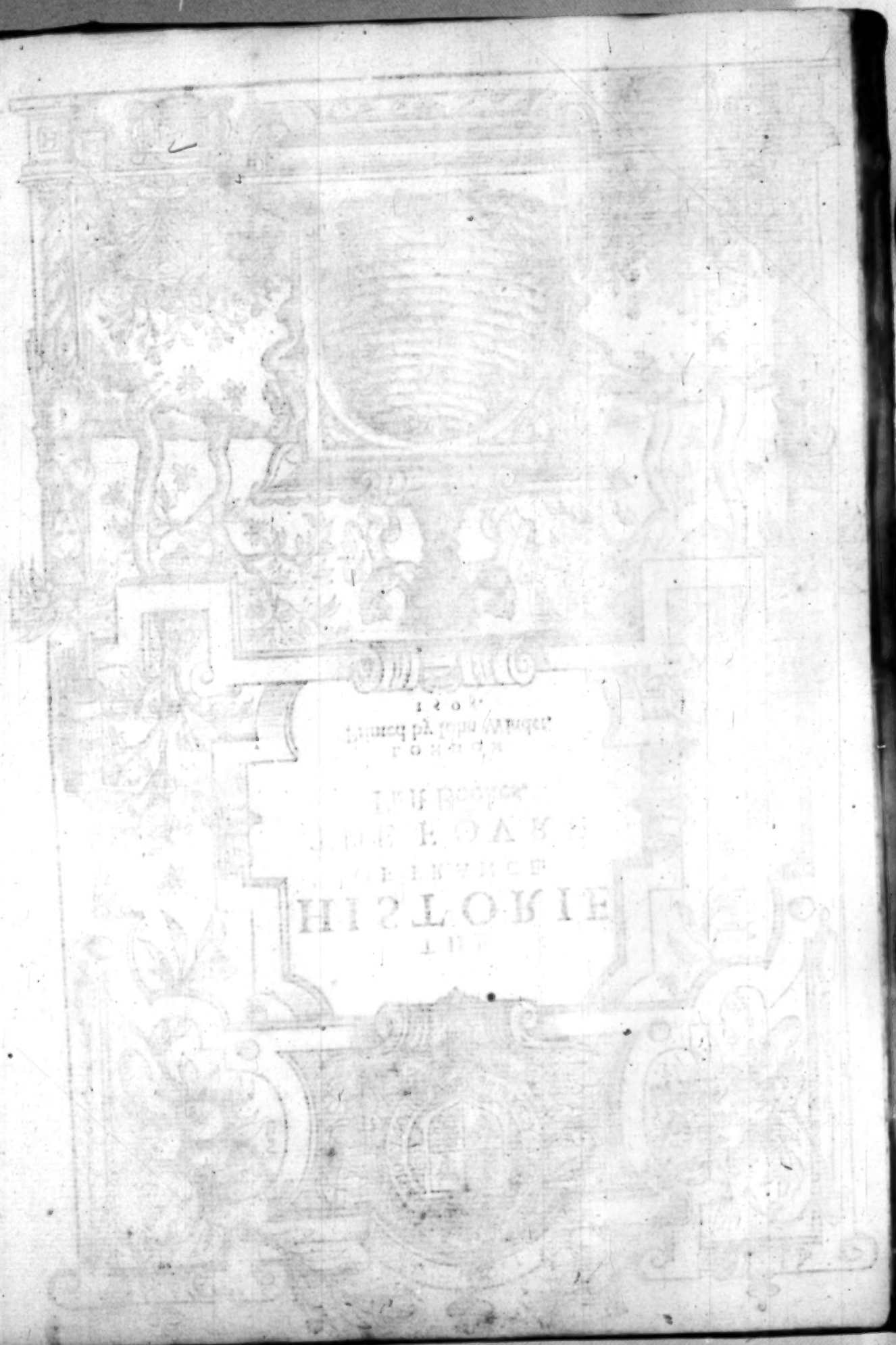


THE HISTORIE OF FRANCE: THE FOVRE First Bookes.

LONDON
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1595.



TO THE RIGHT EXCELENT and vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne Counteſſe of Warwicke: and to the right Noble, and worthie *Ladie, my Ladie and Miſtriſſe, Katherine, Barones* Howard of Effingham; and to the reſt of the illuſtrious Ladies of her ſacred Maieſties moſt Honourable priuie Chamber.



IF in this Epiſtle, (Excellent Ladies) *I containe not my ſtile within the bounds of breuitie, let the large ſcope which the fielde of your vertues proffereth, bee a ſufficient excuſe to my imputed blame: if in the courſe of the worke, which this Epiſtle preſenteth to your Patronage, multitude of errors haue beene ouerſlipped, yet I humbly beſeech it bee ſo much graced by your beautie, as what is good may bee acceptable vnto you, and my infirmities which are moſt may with all other (who bee they neuer ſo great, are or haue beene ſeruantes to ſome in your place) for your ſake lye couered, my weakneſſe beeing the more augmented, in that my pen is ſo meere a ſtraunger to my profeſsion, entertayning it onelye, and that rarelye to ouercome that Idle-*

nes of time, which to my selfe is ouer familiar, rather in wast and void papers exercising the same, then fit for any ende or purpose. Among which a few parcells haue I nine Translated by me some yeeres since vnseene or vnthought of, and had still so continued, had I not (Noble Countesse) beene by those which had full power ouer me otherwise enioyned. Wherein I haue sooner chosen to eternise my own insufficientie, then render their perfections any waies vnsatisfied. And therfore haue made choice to publish these fower first Bookes by an vnknowne (without name, but a most iust and faithful) Author, at the first digested in a forren tongue, wherein I must needes yeelde to adde so much more to my owne vnperfectnesse, as shall come within the view of your eyes, or ponder of your iudgement, as then receiuing most blemish, when you shall vouchsafe the Author in his owne and proper language: Who cannot in himselfe but much satisfie such is his stile, iudgement, truth and variesie of matter, wherein the minde of man most delighting, doth vndoubtedly couet Historie, before all other writinges; and if Historie what more pleasing then is in him contained? So many euents and alterations disclosed; secret disseins, and intentions of mightie Princes reuealed; Emperours not enduring equalitie, Kings disdained, swelling warres, treacherous truces, Popes practisers, and triumphing in periuries, generall Councels disauowed, Empires voluntarily resigned, princes murthered, Crownes vsurped, Popes deposed, Rome beseaged, his holines and Cardinals in danger to be hungerstarued, descriptions of Citties, Townes, Castles and furtes, representations of Royall armies, Inundations, Plagues, Earthquakes, famines, and other Gods wrathfull iudgementes, Sects and Scismes in hollie Churches, hot persecutions, Religion made a Couerture to faction and ambition: the selfe same Kings at one instant prosecuting in their owne Realmes, what in person they

aſsiſted, and protected in the Empire; with the true cauſe, roote & foundation of al the miſeries, which the ſtate of Chriſtendome at this day, and ſince fiftie yeares hath endured: vnder the diſcourſe of the French eſtate, ouerrunning al worthie occurents of Europe, Turkie, *and* America: *A Hiſtorie though modern, & familier to many now liuing Actors therein yet yeelding precedence, for matter, methode, knowledge and iudgment, to none, but thee triumphant* Tacitus, *ſacred Emperors lying ſubiect to thy pen, and the mightieſt Monarchy of the earth, to thy cenſure. As my poore trauailes (which moſt of all kept me from being willing to diuulge the ſame) obſcured by thy ſtately* Sauile. Exquiſite Sauile *honour to thy Vniuerſitie, though in thy vertue an enemy to me, ouerdropping and ſhadowing my endeuours, as the high broade Oke doth young and tender ſproutes, wrong not thy ſelfe and country with longer ſilence of thy pen, proude in thy Author, proude in thy Sainte, and not leaſt proude in the commender of thy worke, thy* A. B. *thy ſecret and haughtie* Mecænas, *diſguiſed in the two firſt letters, the whole Alphabet not being enough to ſet foorth his worthe, but he may not ſo eſcape in a ſhaddowe, his eloquence diſcouereth his Arte, his iudgement his experience, and his experience (in hauing aſſaulted the dreadfullſt Monarch of our world, to the veriegates of his chiefeſt Cittie,) hath confirmed his valour, to his neuer dying glorie. But how much the more naked I ſtande fruſtrate of countenance, ſubiect to errors, & ſo thorough error to reprofe, (as whatſoeuer is mine can be no other worth, ſo much more (high and worthie* Counteſſe) *doth the power of your patronage in my protection, extend it ſelfe, and the grace of your fauor in vouchſafing the reading of this worke vnworthie only by my owne vnableneſſe, to ſet it forth vnto you like it ſelfe. The ſubiect whereof, though loftie in managing the glorious actions of anointed Souereignes, and repre-*

senting the fierce exploits of vnmercifull and bloudy warres, can no waies yet be strange, or dissonant to your eares, daughter to so great an Earle of Bedford, *graue Councellor, commander and gouernour, sometimes of that Royall towne and Garrison, which bordereth on the Scottish soyle: and deare wife to that redoubted* Ambrose, *Earle of* Warwicke, *expert and faithfull Councellor,* (Sonne to *so puissant and Magnanimious a Duke*) *his name, his fame, his valor resounding in foraine Regions, while he had the honour to bee commaunder and Lieutenant generall ouer a Royall English armie, by your birth and Marriage seeming to be chosen, and consecrated to* Mars *himselfe, happie in father, more happie in husband, but most happie in your Soueraignes grace, ornament of her Courte, true patterne of pietie, deuotion, charitie and vertue.*

And you (Excellent Mistrisse) *to whome as well for your honour, bountie and fauours, my fruites and Labours are most due; as hauing first vndertaken the same, eating of your bread, vouchsafe your Patronage, & disdaine not my Authors English weede, who presenteth his attendance vpon your Person, at such time as wearied with other occasions, you are accustomed to retire your selfe to your Bookes and Muses. Verified is that in you, that neuer, Les alone; then when most alone, for the more part spending your vacation of time, either in Meditation of holie letter, or conference and reading of some notable and famous Historie, which whether it treate of peace, pollicie, war, or martiall exploits, can hardly discouer ought, new or strange vnto your wisedome, the one by your high place, long seruices, and Courtelie conuersation, made familiar vnto you, the other by nothing more, then the signall acts, and heroicall prowes of Magnanimious and victorious* Charles, *your Lo. and husband, true patriot, carefull Councellor, vigilant commaunder, rightlie and*

iustly

iustly deere to his Soueraigne and Countrie, dreadfull to the enemie, terror to traytors, and scourge of Spanish Monarchie, which the defeate of that inuincible army, (for so in Print thẽselues published) can best testifie, the glorie whereof can not but stirre vp those two young Impes of great hope and expectation, (ouer whome you haue euer beene a carefull Cornelia) as well to succeede their renowmed Father, in his vertues (which neuer shal perish) as other his humaine dignities & possessions; whereof if you shall not in this Historie haue the like profered to your view, (for no age hath left any such recorde) yet cõtemne not the reading of my Author, by whome you shall receiue the true first motiue of all the Ciuil and foraine warres of Fraunce in our age, and her neighbour Countries: with such memorable accidents and occurents, as continually were ministred. Not like to that impudent, though excellent writer, Paulus Iouius, no lesse worthy to be a Bishoppe, then a Historiographer, who plainly auerred, nay was not ashamed himselfe in his Bookes to vaunt, how he made no accounte in writing a lie, were it in matter of consequence, or to please the appetite of great ones, which shoulde set him a worke: for that wher ther was one in his time, which knew the fault from the truth, all posterity hereafter would notwithstanding belieue and giue credite to what he should set down, my Author contrariwise, hath beene so little tickled with the couet of reward or ambition (capitall enemies to the truth) as that he refuseth to set his owne name to his so painefull labours, mildely and with such great temperance ouerrunning the proceedings of all enemies, as hee cannot iustly be suspected of any partiall leaning to the one side more then the other, wishing for my own part that some one ther were (according to my tast giuen) who in this scribling age (whereof translating humours and quoters are plentie) would finish out the rest, many fragments and sundrie

Bookes yet lying by me (as I once intended, but since, through an accident that happened) in a pelt flong away my pen, confining what I had done, (as I then thought) to vtter darkenesse, weary of giuing Liueries to other mens retayners, like a conceyted builder, rather delighted with an inferiour model of his owne framing, then to rough-cast, or adorne a more goodly and sumptuous pallace left vnto his hands, reseruing my selfe to somwhat (though simplier) of my owne hammering and digesting, which the proiect already being fausied, time may finish and peraduenture bring to light, if feare of receiuing foyle by that illustrious Camden, *doe not otherwise withdrawe my humorfoyle, yet honour enough to be an imitator, and carrier of thy Bookes, (Precious & curious* Camden) *thy owne Country prints not sufficient to extend thy name, worthy to finde Kinges thy nurcing fathers, and Queenes thy nurses, rare Iewell of* Britaine *land, enemie to inglorious obliuion, tresurer of memorie, trumpet of* Albyons *fame, register of Antiquitie and poursiuant of eternitie.*

It now resteth (glorious and beautifull Ladies) adorned with your stately ranke and place, humbly to interceſſe pardon for my presumption in seeking so boldely to shrowde the infirmities of my pen, vnder the shadowe of your winges. And that it will please you to grace with your generall safe conduct this my newe English Denizen to passe from place to place, (free from any Menippean *search) vntill he may make his rende-uous in some contemplatiue, or retired hands, who though he now seeme Clowniſh & Rogiſh like, yet notwithstãding in his own Country guise, is well esteemed of, & very commendable. In which albeit many of you bee singularly well able to iudge of him, yet if it please any of the rest, to vouchsafe to entertayne his broken English, I dare assure that for his discourse, you shall finde him very*

delightfull

delightfull, for his newes not ordinarie, and for his truth can bring good securitie, whensoeuer he may be permitted to attend vpon your leasure, not importuning his accesse, vntill wearied with your more weighbie and serious services, a desire may possesse you, insteede of recreation, to spend with him some fewe howers of the day. A matter heretofore accustomed (in my knowledge) by manie high and loftie Ladies, who often times to be meete with wearisomnes, exercised themselues in studie, & reading of worthie writers, as Marguerite Countesse of Lennox, Anne Countesse of Oxford, Francis Countesse of Sussex, Elizabeth Countesse of Lincolne, the Ladie Marie Sydney (liuing my thrice honoured mistresse) truely liberall and bountifull, rare Mother of so heroicall an offspring, by her noble minde and cariage easily discouering greatnes of birth and Princely parentage, and that wise good, and godly Ladie aduancer of so many excellent personages, both in Arte and Armes, employing her credite with her Soueraigne, (then whome none had greater) in doing good offices, for all sorte in generall, but especially preferring those, in whome she might perceiue any signification of vertue to appeare. That graue Matron, harmeleese Courtier, and faithfull seruant Francis Barones of Cobham, (late wife to the noble L. and treestie Councellor yet liuing) to whome I was so much bound (in many duties being likewise to the whole house) as that both in her health and languishing Maladie, she sundrie times admitted me, to conferre or reade with her, finding in the Ecclesiasticall Historie her most delight. But no waies may I heere without extreame note of grosse ouersight pretermit in this list, that famous Religious and learned Ladie (flower of her familie,) prouident mother, blessed in her posteritie, Mildred Barones of Burghlie, besides her knowledge in the Latine letters, (wherein of a subiect she excelled) such were her studies, exercises,

cises, and continuall Meditation in the Greeke Doctors of the Church, (especially Basil, Ciril, Chrisostome *and* Nazianzene,) *as a chiefe reader in that tonge* (Laurence *by name*) *hath ere now confessed vnto me, that in his iudgemẽt she Egalled if not ouermatched any, in whose profession (as expected so) most was to be required. Neither were these excellent parts of hers, onely Theoricall, but still put in practise like an other* Dorcas, *full of piety and good works, as without any ostentation or* [illegible], *besides her readines in solliciting for poore and distressed Iutors vnto her deare Lo. (the auncients Councellor of* Europe, Pater Patriæ, *piller of the state, thorough whose prudent pollicie, and carefull watchings iustly may be applied,* Neque periculum in R. P. fuit grauius unquam, nec maius otium) *in her life time setting on her owne charge so many poore aworke, her exhibition to Schollers, liberallitie to Vniuersities, bountie to exiled strangers, and her most abounding charitie euerie quarter to all the prisons about London hath manifestly declared; I hope that in so long insisting vpon the vertues of this Lady and others, I shall not be misliked, for insinuation, lesse feare to be suspected, nameless like my Author and yet if knowne most will confirme, that* Non mihi promptum in adulationes ingenium. *But I haue the rather presumed of your patience, in delighting of these honourable personages, to the end to incite you to treade in their steps, and imitate their examples. Such as you are, were they, and such as they now are, shall euerie one of you be, who though they seeme faded, and as it were vanished from among vs, yet doth their goodnesse, and memorie stil remaine fresh and fixed in the minds and harts of manie.*

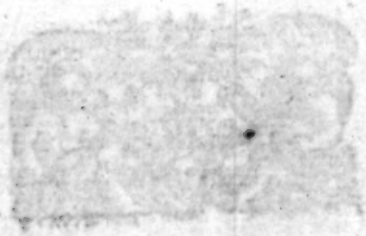
But how can it otherwise fare (Illustrious Ladies) *but that you must needes succeede, or rather abounde in all or greater worthinesse hauing the honour and blisse to bee trayned vpp,*

in

in the ſame Schoole, from the which they (and all other) borrow their light as the Moone doth frō the Sun, at the mouth of that diuine Oracle, Ex cuius ore, melle dulcior fluit oratio, *that ſacred Queene, vnmachable and victorious Virgine,* Supereminens omnes, *Mans mirror,* Ioues *darling, worlds wonder, and natures perfection, whoſe* Angelicall *face ſō often as I doe beholde, (as behold to often I can not) me thinketh I ſtill (with daſeled eyes) ſee as it were in full aſpect* Solarem Maieſtatem, cum Saturnina grauitate.

That the powerful and eſſentiall thing of things, may number the peaceable yeeres of her Raigne like the ſands of the Sea, that the ſhadow gonne downe in the Dyall of Ahaz, *may be ten and ten degrees brought backward, that the Sunne abide, and the Moone ſtand ſtill, vntill ſhe may be auenged of her enemies. Let all her Subiects pray, our age reſt thankefull, poſteritie admire, and the heauens eterniſe her name for euer.*

Tho: Hannett.



The Hiſtorie of Fraunce.

THE FIRST BOOKE.



NOw that thoſe our Actions are moſt worthy of praiſe, which can both pleaſe & profit together, wherein a Hiſtory ought to haue the aduantage to excell all other, I do not wel know, & though I did, hardly could I tell, whether in repreſenting vnto you the eſtate of *Fraunce*, and nations neighbours vnto it, ſince fortye yeeres paſt I might doe a generall pleaſure, conſidering the mallice, enuye, and diuerſitie of iudgements of euery man. True it is, that if I be not deceiued through the ſelfe liking of my owne labour, the truth herein ſo clearely repreſented, the free deſire of euery ones profit in ſundry ſortes, the varietie and notable euente of ſo many accidents doe ſufficiently promiſe vnto mee a gratious acceptance, euen at the handes of the more gentle and better vnderſtanding ſort of ſtrangers, who being farre from my knowledge, and thereby leſſe tickled with enuie, (an ordinary compagnion of the liuing) ſhall be more rightly able to iudge of my labours. I doe leſſe doubt, how ſmall or much pleaſing ſoeuer the firſt Treatiſes of this Hiſtorie ſhal be, but that all wil euen haſten to ſee the progreſſe and iſſue therof, ſome allured thereunto through the pleaſure, which the diuerſitie of ſo ſtrange and memorable an Argument offereth vnto them, and other of a curioſitye praiſe worthie, to be willing to know the meruailes of Gods iudgments, the great hatreds and ſmall charitie: So many peaces broken, ſo many warres renewed, ſo ſtrange cruelties, ſo ſmal fauours: in ſumme al the Potentates of chriſtendom at banding for, and againſt the French, who moſt miſerably haue made themſelues the foole in the play, and the vnhappy end & variable reencounter of more rare miſeries, then euer worldlings did practiſe. I cleane contrarye knowing the verye cauſes and meanes through which wee haue beene cunningly ledde to ſuch pouertye, endeuour as much as poſsibly I may, to eſtrange from my ſelfe the conſideration of ſo miſerable effects, and fetch my hiſtory from more high, reaching ſomewhat beyond the beginning of our ciuill warres, where wandring in a true diſcourſe of forraine affaires, and ſuch as are common vnto vs, with our neighbours, I ſeeke the recompence of my paines. In this chiefely that as maiſter of my ſelfe, I cõmand my owne affections for a

 while

while,to forget our calamities paſſed,from which I may boldely borrow ſo much leaſure as I ſhall eſteeme neceſſarie,to turne awaye for a ſeaſon ſo ſorrowfull and pitious a remembrance,as thereby I am howrely put in minde of: and albeit the memory of ſuch greefes ought not any wayes to cauſe a vertuous diſpoſition to ſwarue from the truth,no more then the frendſhip of ſome,hatred of other,or reſpect of great perſonages ſhould doe, and though hee is verye rarelye to be found, which is not ſpyed in the ende: if not throughlye gained,yet at the leaſt tempted by ſome one of theſe paſſions,eſpecially in ſo confuſe,graue, and deepe a matter: I will notwithſtanding be found ſo little partiall as all men ſhall haue more cauſe in other matters to diſgrace me,then in the truth of ſuch accidents as are heere ſet foorth: which if they ſhal bring a form of a more agreeable ſetting forth,either by the number of ſtrange occurrents, or exceeding by a more excellency of deliuery,the rudenes of my naturall language: howſoeuer it be,ſo farre am I from enuying ſo great a benefite to thoſe of my age, that I ſhall holde my ſelfe for well ſatisfied,when I ſhall not gather any other profite of my long watchings,then to ſee my ſelfe at the end of ſo great trauailes,to haue vndertaken more for the pleaſure of others, then my owne particular. And now that among Hiſtoriographers my name reſteth as obſcured,their high valour & number which are able to ſhadow the light, wil bring me ſome comfort ioyned therewithall is, that my qualitie holding more of action then of contemplation, doth diſpence with me to make any profeſsion of writing,but in matter of conſequence wherein I am moſt delighted: which being the cauſe that I beſt iudge of my inſufficiency: for being able to conduct and profit ſo labourſome a trauaile, I will call vpon his grace which is able to bleſſe the beginning,purſuite,and laſt end of ſuch a labour.

Being then reſolued to lay before your eyes the eſtate of Fraunce and her neighbours ſince fortye peares paſſed, and conſidering how the cauſes of humaine accidents are maintained by an eternall bonde,and knowne of fewe people,I thought I ſhould make my worke a great deale more commendable, if I did fetch the matter from more high,thogh not from the firſt ſpring,yet at the leaſt from the more apparāt occaſions which haue brought forth ſo ſtrange occurrents. For when I ſhould entreat but of the wars between *Charles* the Emperour,and *Philip* his ſonne, againſt the Kings of Fraunce,or of the change of Religion throughout Chriſtendome,or of the Seditions that enſued thereon,I ſhould worke you very ſmall pleaſure and leſſe profit, in laying downe theſe matters ſo rawly vnto you,leauing in the meane time vndiſcouered,the roote and cauſe of theſe great ones enmities: the beginning and progreſſe of the reformation,the paines and purſuites againſt ſuch as were wilfull in the faith, when,whence,and how the Lutherans were diſperſed throughout the whole world, by what meanes and ſucceſſe they haue beene maintained againſt the Catholiques in euery Countrie: together with the motife and conduite which both the one and the other pretended to bring,to the defence of the true and auncient religion. And hereby in ſhewing you the beginnings and preparatiues of the ſtomacking warres among the Chriſtians,I ſhall make you to iudge how the moſt notable broyle which euer was ſeene in Chriſtendome,had his beginning from the diuerſities of opinions, in the explanation of the religion of our Fathers. To the maintenance of which, the perſecutions which were ordained and purſued againſt the more ſtedfaſt in their faith,haue brought forth leſſe troubles in all ſortes of vertues, but much greater be it in quantitye or qualitie of vices, yea ſurpaſsing all misfortune, number, and varietie of notable accidents,all the warres which euer our anceſtours had againſt their neighbours: as the narration of the pittifull effectes both of the one and th'other

worldly

worldly passion shall make apparant vnto you, if you will patiently abide the reading thereof vntill the end.

The peace which was concluded between *Charles* 5. Emperour, and *Francis* the first, togither with that which ensued at Ardres betweene *Henry* 8. K. of England, and the K. of Fraunce, maintained as well the estates and subiects of these Princes, as of sundry other Christians which by alliance, neighbourhood, or other dutie of frendship communicated with their passions, in such rest and aduantage, as all esteemed themselues happie of their present ease, considering their toyles passed: euery one reioysing so much more, as hauing suffered a world of miseries vnder the continuance of so long and cruell warres, they had euen fully perswaded themselues that the immortall hatreds of their Soueraignes would vtterly enuy the comming of so greatly a desired peace: ledde hereunto, for that finding their hartebutnes grounded vpon a slight enough despite, yea more ambitious then reasonable, they often enough sawe them counselled by those, who hauing nought else thē their Maisters pleasure & their owne particular before their eyes, represented vnto them but an apparance of good: the pursuite whereof being alwaies vnfortunate to subiects, brought only honor and profit, to such as full cunningly knew how to make their owne markets. But such was the eternall prouidence, or to speake naturally, the vndiscreet lightnes of the French, ioyned with a too vaine ambition of their neighbours, drawing from so euill guided a passion, a lamentable spring of all our miseries to come, that so yong a peace could not be suffered to wax old among the Christians, who too tickliish in their ease, & as it were leaping with a desire of new chāges, seemed to seek nothing else thē an occasion how to free thēselues from this rest, which alredy seemed too noisome vnto thē. Now as according to the infinite rencounter of humaine accidents, they could not long want matter to entertaine the fire of their ancient enmities, the occurrence of the protection of Parma presented it selfe but too soone to heate the well neere tempered affections of these Princes, of their people and allies, by a new motion which so greatly changed their counsailors harts, not yet ful cooled of their burning enmities, that there needed no long time to perswade them to make warre, and fall together by the eares with greater stomack then euer. Beholde the very cheefe occasions.

The state of Fraunce and countries adioyning from the yeere 1544.

The beginning of warr and miseries among christians.

The ancient hatreds between the Spaniards and French, grounded vpon the pretence of Naples, Milan, Flaunders, Burgundie, and sundry other rights (for the maintenance whereof so much Christian bloud hath bene shed) reuiued between *Francis* the first, & *Charles* of Austria, & continued for light enough occasions, were no lesse entertained through the enuy of the glory which the French atchieued, at the memorable defeat of (at their times) the inuincible Swisers at Marignan, the conquest of Milan, and sundry other great aduantages happened to the Flowredeluce, then the ielousie of the honor and aduancement, which *Charles* got at such time as the seauen Electors of Germany bestowed vpon him (to be meete with the French) the title and soueraigne power of Emperour ouer the Christians: and since being tooth and nayle pursued by the ambitious and sturdie nature of these two, though yong, yet the greatest Princes of Christendome, there euer fell out such store of matter to nourish this fire of enmitie, that one could not but iudge it eternall, if *Charles* had not first shewed both to the Princes of his owne time and to come, as well by his succession to the goods and rights of his ancestors, as by his voluntary resignation of his estates, and free retreate into a solitary life voide of the prancks of this worlde, how one ought to take and leaue hatreds, rather with discretion then blinde passion or aduise of euil councellors, into which almost all Lords, by indiscretion, faintnes of hart,

Warres begun between the French and Spanish.

or other insufficiencie, suffer themselues to be but too much ledde. *Charles* notwithstanding was cunning, a dissembler, a great husband as well in the expence of his time, as treasure, patient, staide and well setled, couragious in aduersitie, discreet in his wordes and actions, of a good and strong stature, scorning the outward gloryes and shewes of the worlde, hauing for counterpease of his good partes, the indisposition of his person, selfe will in his own opinion, and the wealth of his estate for the end of his actions, more then reason, honor or iustice, what euer could be alleadged vnto him to the contrary. *Fraunces* on the other side was open, too bountifull, sumptuous in diet, apparell, buildings, and other outward things, royall in performance of his worde, valiant, couragious, a great freend to learning and other rare matters, but blemishing his praise-worthy partes with too suddaine a change of opinion, and and too free credite giuing to such as he had lightly enough chosen for his cheefe fauourites, no lesse then by worldlye pleasure, which carrying him to the fruition of things corporall and fleshly, shortned the course of his life, which otherwise could not chuse but haue beene very long, considering the estate of his person, and a reasonable good forme of dyet which hee helde by the aduise of his Phisitions. Both of them freends to the people, whom they would not ouercharge but in great necessitie, couragious, ambitious, yea to haue imagined eche one in their owne conceite, to haue had the Empire of the worlde, alike frended of Fortune, if you compare the losses which *Charles* sustained at Metz, in Fraunce, in Affricque, and elsewhere, with the imprisonment of *Fraunces*, they both left their children heires to some of their vertues, as well as of their wealth and passions: but much surpassing them in yeelding credit to their counsellors, to whome they meerelye referred the resolution of good or bad, which sometimes they too much put in practise for their owne particular, as well as for the good of the estate. Of which leauing vnto the historie to discouer the ouer-plus vnto you, I will but deliuer the matter of *Parma*, which reuiuing their halfe dead contrariety of affections, seemed vnto them a sufficient occasion and fit meanes to be throughly reuenged of whatsoeuer had bene before passed.

The nature of Charles 5.

The nature of Fraunces 1.

Pope *Paul* 3. had exchanged certain of the church lands, by the consent and ratification of the Colledge of Cardinals, with *Parma* and *Plaisance*, in which he inuested his sonne *Pierre Loys Farneze*, and in the end obtained the Emperours consent (for that in time past they had appertained to the Dutchie of Milan:) Vpon condition of some recompence, and the marriage of his naturall daughter with *Octauian*, eldest sonne to *Pierre Loys*. Who imagining to assure the insolences of his fraile and arrogant life, thorough the rigorous carriage of himselfe, and his strong fortresses which he there built, especially at Plaisance, was notwithstanding in the end stabbed in with a Dagger, by the Paluoysins his Subiects and others as he sate at dinner. But shortly after *Ferdinande Gonzague* Lieutenant for the Emperour in the Dutchie of Milan was readie to enter, both with horse and foote to sease of Plaisance to the vse of the Emperour, which made men to thinke that he fauoured the plat. So the Pope greatly offended as wel at the losse of his sonne, as of his lands, and especially by him who had beene so greatly benefited, by him and his house, to which he was himselfe alied, found no more ready way for the defence of the rest (knowing that a number of the countrie about Parma yeelded day by day to *Gonzague*, and others for the Emperour) then to send *Camillo Vrsino*, one of the Captaines of the Church to *Parma*: being himselfe cleane worne with age, his end the rather hastened by so sorrowfull newes. And seeing himselfe euen ready to depart, ordained by his will that Parma should be rendred to his grand childe *Octauian*, the which was confirmed by *Iulie* the

Paul 3. dieth. *Iuly* 3. chosen *Pope*.

third, before Cardinal of Mont-Aretin, choſen Pope after certaine differents which had paſſed in the conclaue, commaunding *Camillo* to deliuer vnto him the Cittie which he did. Notwithſtanding, that the Emperour had earneſtly required him to deliuer it into his handes as Protector of the ſubſtance of the Church, and beſides as Lord of Millane, from whēce theſe places had bene diſmembred, declaring vnto him the great charge of expence conuenient for the tuition thereof; yea proceeding ſo farre as to threaten *Camillo* if he did not deliuer it. And ſeeing he could not by theſe meanes obtaine it, he offered high rewards to *Octauian*, who notwithſtanding vtterly deſpiſed them, fearing like ſundrie other he ſhould become cleane fruſtrate as wel of his certaintie, as his hope. The Pope for all that deepely preſſed in the end thorough the ſolliciting of the Emperour, ſignified vnto *Octauian* that he would no longer ſuſtaine the expence which hee had promiſed towards the protection of his dominions. Whereupon, he being greatly aſtonied, eſpecially for that the other ſeemed cleane to forget himſelfe, hauing receiued his firſt aduancement from the houſe of *Farneze*, and conſidering that his father in law indeuored but his ſpoyle, in the end beſought the King of *Fraunce* to receiue him vnder his protection: Who being perſwaded that the action was worthy of commiſeration, and that by the example of his anceſtors, he ought to ſhew himſelf therin ready to ſuccour the afflicted, & aboue all things a protector of the goods of the Church: firſt comforted him with a hope of ſuccour, and not being able to bring the Pope to take vp the matter otherwiſe, he vndertook the defence therof vpon fauourable conditions, to the Church of Rome: ſo as the French entred there very ſhortly after, which the Emperour tooke in very euill parte, attributing it to a meere and wilfull breache of Peace ſo ſolemnelye concluded. The K. notwithſtanding to make manifeſt his entente herein, which he foreſawe would bee euill conſtrued of ſuch as were ignorant of his meaning, and chiefely to put out of euery mans head ſuch reproches and backbitinges, as by his enemyes might be ſuppoſed, that he ſhould haue a further end then he would diſcouer, made knowne to all men by two ſeuerall waies, that banding himſelfe againſt the Pope and his partakers, he would not be ſeperate in ought might appertain to the vnion of the church of Rome: firſt by the perſecution which he was counſelled to ſharpen & double againſt the Lutheranes, ſecondly, by his proteſtations which of his own deliberation he ſent, as wel to the counſel of Trent as dietts, of th'emperour and other chriſtian princes: touching the firſt he preſently made a moſt ſure teſtimonie thereof, to ſuch as cheeflie deſired his enmitie with the Pope, and banding againſt the Chatholick obedience, for vpon the complaint which the Cleargy made vnto him of the vnbrideled companie of Lutherans, which enereaſed to a great eye-ſore throughout his Realme, he cauſed a maruellous rigorous Edict to be made for their ſearching out, reuealing, condemnation and puniſhment. The which being made at Chaſteau-Briant where then he was, the 27. of Iune 1551. was called the Edict of Chaſteau-Briant: by vertue whereof all the ancient Edicts which puniſhed Heretiques were reuiued and made in force, the ſoueraigne knowledge giuen to the *Preſidiaux*, to the end to make ſpeedie expedition, and among ſundry other articles for the puniſhing of Printers, Booke-binders, and other ſellers of ſuſpected bookes, it was enacted that the Eſtates of Iudicature thereto ordeyned, and Regentes of Schooles ſhould bee bound to bring proofe to witneſſe that they were well reputed of among good Catholicke Chriſtians: that information ſhould be made againſt the negligence of ſuch Iudges as ſlacked their puniſhment from three moneths to three moneths: that the Mercuriales ſhould be in force in ſoueraigne Courtes, in which ſhould be chiefelye handled

The meanes which Charls the Emperour vſed to get Parma.

The King of Fraunce taketh Octauian Farneze & Parma into his protection.

handled the points of faith, eſpecially for the purging of ſuch faultes as might be found in any ſuſpected of hereſie, whereof hee will'd information ſhould bee made: the goods of heretiques retired to Geneua, to be confiſcate to the King, except good proofe were made that they were ſimplie bought: togither with ſundry other rigorous articles. Now for that to the end the eſtate of Fraunce might be the better aſſured and maintained, the Kings at all times haue beene contented to yeelde this authoritie to that Parlament of Paris (being aſſembled of the moſt remarqued Frenchmen, for their knowledge, experience and other vertues, as well Clergie as Layetie) to iudge whether the letters, ſtatutes, Edicts, and ordinances, although they were before reſolued of by the Priuie counſell, were fit to be put in practiſe throughout the Realme, to the end they ſhould be either receiued, publiſhed, and engroſſed of record in their Courte, or ſent backe againe to the King if they were not found iuſt, reaſonable, and aduantagious to the eſtate: together with their declarations which they muſt ſend both in writing and worde of mouth, by ſome one of their owne body, which to that purpoſe they diſpatch. The Edict was preſently carryed to the Kinges Counſell (which are his Proctor and 2. Aduocates ordained for his aſsiſtance) at the earneſt ſute of the Clergie, requiring to haue it engroſſed of record in the Court, but it was refuſed for many conſiderations, which a number of Counſellers alleadged, that at that time ſtoode ſuſpected, and ſince found to bee Lutherans, as heereafter I will declare. In the end notwithſtãding by the earneſt and continuall inſtance of the Cardinals and other of the Cleargie about the King, who beſides would make him ſelfe appeare moſt Chriſtian throughout all Europe, eſpecially for the reaſons aboue mencioned, the Court was ſo preſſed, that all the articles of the Edict were there in publique audience read, the 3. of September 1551. in the Chamber called Doree. Of all which *Pierre Seguier* the Kings Aduocate, demaunding the ingroſsing of the behalfe of the Proctor generall, ſaide that it was well knowne how the Kinges of Fraunce had bene alwaies zealous protectors of chriſtianitie, of the faith and vnion of the Church, for which they worthily deſerued the name of moſt Chriſtian: that there was no doubt but zeale of Religion was one of the principall cauſes, for which it pleaſed God to maintaine the eſtate of that Realme in that greatnes it was vntill that day, that hiſtoryes did witnes, among all the misfortunes and vnhappines which fell out betweene the Romaine Kings, the raigne of *Numa Pompilius* to haue beene found moſt long, happie and peaceable, becauſe hee was moſt zealous in Religion. And *Titus Liuius* and *Plutarch* write, *Quod Numa Primus condidit templum fidei: primus fidei ſolemne inſtituit*. And albeit that the Religion of *Numa* was not ruled after the worde of God, yet hauing had ſo great an increaſe of good fortune in his Heatheniſhe Religion, it may verye well cauſe vs to thinke that the care and zeale which the Kings of Fraunce haue had for Chriſtian religion, hath greatlye auailed and helped towards the maiotenance and enlarging of the Monarchie of Fraunce. Contrarywiſe negligence of Religion, the leauing and apoſtacie of faith, and the ſciſmes and diuiſions in the Church, are the beginning and ſpring of all miſchieſes, and the forewarning of deſolation and ruine to a Common-wealth. The examples are verye common *De neglecta Religione*, both in *Valerius* and other our owne Hiſtories, as the Bookes of *Moſes* doe teſtifie, that the children of *Iſrael*, while they helde themſelues vnited in the faith of God, and precepts of *Moſes*, proſpered and ouercame all aduerſities, but when they withdrew themſelues from religion, they fell into great ruine. The moſt Chriſtian King conſidering and well vnderſtanding theſe things, hath ſtudiouſly & diligently ſearched by all poſsible meanes, how the error of the *Pſeudo-*

Religion well maintained preſerueth all eſtates.

chriſtians

christians might bee extermined, and cleane rooted out of this Realme, and to this end hath commaunded these letters now read, to be approued in this Courte: and further said that he could not omit to yeelde due thankes vnto the King for his most gracious, royall, and most Christian will, moste humblye beseeching God that it would please him to preserue the King in this charitie, deuotion and zeale, many yeares, and hereupon concluded, and required the publication and approuing of the letters, enioyning the Prelates and Cleargy in what appertained to their charge, to obey the contents thereof. Then the Presidente after the counsellers had deliuered their opinions, gaue this sentence. The Court in obeying of the Kings will, ordaineth that vpon the plight of the said letters shalbe set downe, *Lecta, publicata & Registrata, audito & requirente procuratore generale Regis*, and that the Iudges Presidiaux, and such as assist them in iudgement of criminall enditementes, shall vpon sight thereof cause the prisoners to be brought before them and heare them speake in person, and such iudgements as shall be so giuen by the Presidiaux and their assistantes, shall not be helde and reputed for sufficiently concluded and awarded, except it passe the consent of two at the least, according to the ordinance. And gaue in charge to the Court of the said Iudges, that after iudgement giuen vpon the said criminall enditements, they should make them safely to be kept by such Greffiers as the court should appoint, to haue diligent care of the same, to the end they might both deliuer & answere the same, whatsoeuer they should be called vpon. Moreouer, he warned & exhorted the Court, the Archbishops, and Prelates that resorted thereunto, enioyning them to keepe and fulfill the contentes of the saide letters, in whatsoeuer might concerne them, the 3. of September 1551. Now let vs handle againe the imperials practises against the French: you shal belowe see in place fitter for it, the second meanes which the King had to iustifie himselfe for his actions in the occurrence of Parma.

If the Emperor were angry knowing of the Kings resolution in fauour of the *Farnezes*, Pope *Iulye* made no lesse shew thereof, and thereupon the 11. of Aprill hee bitterly accused *Octauian* by a writing published to that end. When (said he) he receiued Parma at my hands, and the estate of Supreame Gouernour, hee promised me vpon his faith that he would neuer serue other Prince, nor put any Garrison of Strangers into Parma without my leaue: and assoone as any apparance was of any change, I oftentimes very louingly admonished him by men expressely, and by his own brother the Cardinall *Alexander*, that he should remember his dutie. But because he answered very strangely, I threatned him by letters vnder great paines, if hee should forget himselfe: hoping in time to haue wonne him. But since being aduertised how farre he swarueth from the accord, I haue great cause to be extreamelye angrye, that one whom I had enriched and aduanced to honor, should offer me such an iniurye. Now then though it were lawfull for me to pronounce iudgement in so apparante and cleare a matter, yet to the end to make him know my curtesie, I charge him to appeare at Rome within 30. daies, to answere to his accusations, and to put in good security for his comming: if hereof he make no accompt, I condemne and holde him for guilty of treason, disloyaltie and other crimes, willing and meaning that all his goods shalbe confiscat: for which I require aide of th'emperour, that he will holde a strong hand to helpe me to punish the same, forbidding all in generall to yeelde him any releefe or succour.

Pope Paul seeketh to retaine Octauian Farneze.

The King of Fraunce in the meane time to appease the Pope and his Cardinals, declared by his Embassador *Paul de Termes* of purpose sent vnto Rome, that he was no whit at all to blame for receiuing of *Octauian* into his protection, considering

Paul de Termes with the Pope in the French Kings behalfe.

it a matter proper to the office of Kings to ſuccour the afflicted. Beſides, ſayth hee, he ſought no particular profit to himſelfe, but all for the benefit of the Church of Rome, according to the example of his progenitors, which had inriched the ſame more than all other, and oftentimes defended it with the ſword: for conſidering that Parma was of the patrimonie of the Church, he would eſpecially ſeeke to preuent, that it might not fall into the handes of anie ſtranger, which was the verie reaſon that hee was at ſo great & ordinarie an expence. Therfore he earneſtly beſought him to take it in good part, and not to remaine in that harde opinion hee had conceiued of him, a matter which ſhould bring great profite to the commonwealth. But if refuſing all ſatisfaction, he preferred warre before peace, he might wel perceiue the danger which would inſue to the whole Church, & to Europe it ſelfe, in that it was vnpoſſible in the mean time to aſſure or eſtabliſh anie matter of religion, beſides the trouble which would fal out among Chriſtians, the Councell ſummoned coulde not aſſemble, or if it did, it muſt of neceſsitie bee diſſolued, for that as the caſe ſtoode hee ſhoulde not bee able to ſende anie of his Biſhops to the Councell of Trent. Aboue all things no fault coulde bee layde vpon him, who not onely deſired the conditions of peace, but alſo was readie to embrace them, the which hee publikely proteſted. But *Iuly* relying vpon the Emperours promiſes, would neuer a whit relent for this: but hauing condemned the Duke *Octauian*, as a rebellious vaſſall of the church, gaue leaue to the Emperour to recouer Parma in what ſort hee could. Wherefore *Fernande Gonzague* aſſembling with all ſpeede the garriſons of Millaine and Piemont, and beſides ioyned with the troupes which *Iohn Baptiſta* lead, vnder the Apoſtolique title and authoritie, began to braue it in the countrie about Parma, and in the end beſieged Parma & Mirandolle, which the French ſayde were adiudged by *Paul* the fourth, to bee helde vnder the protection of King *Henrie* and his ſucceſſors, who ſhortly after ſent thether *Horace Farneze*, brother to *Octauian*, with *De Termes*, *D'Andelot*, *Cypierre*, and ſundrie other: commanding *Briſſac*, his lieutenant in Piemont, to put as many as hee was able into the field, to make *Fernande* raiſe his ſiege, and to annoie him as much as in him laie. Which hee ſo readily performed, that hee tooke Quiers, Saint Damian, & other places of the Marquiſate of Mont-ferrat, readie to haue reached further, if *Gonzague* had not well beſtirred himſelfe to hinder his enterie into the Dutchy of Millaine. Behold then theſe Princes which with the fire of their miſerable Countrie begin to feele, or at leaſt to foreſee the ruine of theyr poore ſubiects.

Now as they might well thinke, that many would eaſily know and at leaſure iudge, that this fire of eternall ambition had ſoone made them forget the couenants & promiſes of ſo generall a peace, of the yeere 1546. ſo did euerie of them, as well by their writings, as Embaſſadors into all partes, ſeeke to laie the fault & firſt motion of breach of peace vpon his enemie. The king of France to this end, and by the ſelfe ſame hand to be meete with ſuch rumours as his enemies might cauſe to bee giuen out of him, contrarie to his owne meaning, ſent the Abbot of Bellozane to the councell of Trent, where ſundrie Princes and Prelates were aſſembled by the Emperour and Pope *Iuly*, as well for the matter of religion, as affaires of the Empire, and other particulars, the Cardinall *Creſcence* there as chiefe in the name of the Pope. The Emperour had ſent thether *Frances* of Toledo, *Hugues* Earle of Mont-fort, and *Guillaume* of Poictiers: and for that the Councell daie fell on the firſt of September, the Abbot preſented him ſelfe there with his Letters addreſſed to the aſſembly. After that hee had deliuered them to the Popes Legate, and that the ſuperſcription was read, they conſulted together, why hee rather tearmed it an aſſembly than a councell: ſome being of opinion that

The French king tearmeth the Counſell of Trent but an aſſembly.

that they ought not at all to haue beene receiued, except the Embassador shewed his warrant for the same. Thereupon arose a great tumult, with a long houting, which chiefely proceeded from the Spanish Bishops. But when the Embassador answered that his commission was contained in the Letters, the Popes Legate rose vp, and calling the fathers into the priuatest place of the Temple, debated of the matter, where it was agreed that he should be heard, considering that the superscription might bee as well construed in good part. After then that the Letters had beene read in priuate, by which the King declared in briefe the wrong which was done him, and the displeasure which thereof hee conceiued, requiring credite to bee giuen to whatsoeuer his Embassadour should deliuer, they sate all down againe. And after that the Letters were ther publikely rehearsed, they answered, that they could not take in euill part, the King reserming of the Councell an Assembly, not willing to mistrust anie euill, by so great a King, surnamed Most Christian: that if he should haue anie other intention or meaning, in that case they held them as not written, and so commanded him to deliuer what hee had in charge. Then he began his Oration, which was long, wherein the King recited all that had passed betweene the Pope and the Senate of Cardinals, by his Embassador *Paul de Termes*, and that by no meanes hee could doo anie good, albeit hee had doone as much as in him lie for peace. But that Pope *Iuly*, who by the example of his ancestors ought, if not cleane to appease, yet at the least to mitigate the debates and contentions of Princes, had contrarywise lighted a great fire in a most vnseasonable time: to wit, when the state of Christendome was marueilously weakned, and since it is so, that hee carrieth so bitter and eager a heart against him which is the eldest sonne of the Church, hee protested, as before hee had done at Rome. First, that for the great affayres and incombrances wherein his hands were full, it was neither lawfull nor conuenient that anie Bishops of his realme should be suffered to goe to Trent. Besides, that he doth not hold it for a publike & general councel, but rather for a priuate congregation made to serue some mennes particular profite and commoditie, & not for a commonwealth. And that touching anie Decree which they should there make, neither hee nor anie of his realme could bee liable, or should bee bound thereto: and farther, that if the matter so required, hee would serue himselfe wyth such remedies as his ancestors were accustomed to doo in like cases. True it is, that he would alwaies carrie a pure heart, beare a good affection to religion, and the church of Rome, and keepe himselfe from doing ought worthie of reprehension. But forsomuch as he found himselfe highly grieued at the iniuries and hatreds of some, which he neuer deserued, he could doo no otherwise for the present time, & that they should take this his protestation in good part, & make him an act whereby he might informe all other Princes and christians of all that had beene passed. The Kings Letters being read, the fathers sayde that they would answere him in the first Session, prouided that the King should acknowledge it for a councel which was held at Trent, as touching that which then passed, they receiued it as farre forth as the lawe would permit. Wherefore they could not deliuer vnto him any act or testimonie whatsoeuer.

The French Embassadors oration in the Councell of Trent.

Whereas the King said, that hee would vse the remedie his ancestors were wont to practise, it grew thus. In France as well as other countries, if anie Bishoprick or Abbey became voyde, those whome they learned Chanons or Monkes had lybertie to choose: the other Benefices which were not elective, were bestowed by the Bishops and Patrones, and all suites for matter of Benefices were determined each one in his owne prouince. But the Popes by lyttle and lyttle beganne cleane to alter these elections, and to drawe for themselues all the profit to Rome, by reseruations and expectatiue

The choise of Bishops and Cleargie denied to the Pope.

tatiue graces, and caused all suites to bee brought thether, euen at the first instance. This change began in France in the time of *Lewes* the ninth, who notwithstanding stoudy resisted it, by the aduice of his Councell and Parliament, and made an ordinance in the yeere 1267. by which hee commanded the ancient custome should be maintained, and for all that no man to paie ought to the Pope, which lawe stoode in force many yeeres after. But the authoritie of the Popes became in the end mistresse, scattering among the Cleargie throughout Christendome their graces and reseruations, which were most chargeable and odious vnto euerie man, vntill the Councell of Basle vtterly abolished this manner of taking, relying vpon the ancient lawes of collations and elections, and forbidding the exaction of *Annates*. So as *Charles* the seuenth after that hee had summoned a Councel of the choicest men of all his realme, approued that Decree of the Councell, and in the yeere 1438. confirmed it by an Edict, which was commonly called *La Pragmatique Sanction*. Yet afterwarde *Eugene* the fourth pronounced this councel of no valour, so as the Popes which since succeeded, haue vtterly refused this Decree, & named it *Schismaticall*. Yea Pope *Pius* the second, sent his Embassadour to *Lewes* the eleuenth sonne of *Charles* the seuenth, by whom he tooth and naile insisted to make *La Pragmatique Sanction* to be abolished. But the king tooke councell of the Parliment of Paris, which is the most renowmed of all France, composed of learned personages, and experienced in the Ciuill and Canon lawe, and in matters of estate, or other publike charge. Who fetching many things from the antiquitie and ordinances of the verie Popes themselues, and Councels in time passed, alleadging lykewise what his progenitours *Clodoueo*, *Charlemagne*, *Philippe Dieudonne*, *Lewes* the ninth, *Philip le Bel*, *Lewes Hutin*, *Iohn* the first, & finally what his owne grandfather had ordained therein. And taking occasion thereby to shew how exceedingly France then floprished, and how in present shee was desolate and wealned, deliuered vnto him boldly, that if the ancient lawes should not remaine in force, all order of the Cleargie would come to vtter confusion, and that France would bee in the ende left cleane vnhabited, by reason many retired themselues to Rome, by litle and little sucking out the whole treasure of the realme, whence would insue that the Churches and such like buildings would in the end be vtterly ruined throughout the whole realme. As concerning the treasure, sayd they, if the lawe of your Father take not place, there will yeerely bee transported to Rome a million of golde. For, omitting the rest in the time of Pope *Pius*, at the least twentie Bishopricks were voyde, whereof euerie one paide as wel for the *Annates*, as other charges, six thousand crownes: about three score Abbeyes, whereof euerie one payde two thousande, and aboue two hundred other Benefices, of which euerie one paide aboue one thousand crownes. Besides, that there is in your realme more than an hundred thousand parishes, from which a masse of monie is drawen by this inuention of the Popes. Followe then your Fathers traces, and sticke fast to the Decree of Basle. Such was the counsell which the Parliament gaue him. But the Kinge ouercome with the authoritie or subtiltie of the Pope, ordayned the abolishing of *La Pragmatique Sanction*, by meanes of the Cardinall *Balue*, one verie familyar about the King, and deeply bound to the Pope. Notwithstanding the Kings Proctor generall, and the Vniuersitie of Paris, which had a greate interest therein, couragiously withstood it, and appealed from the Pope to a Councell. *Lewes* the twelfth was at great oddes with *Iuly* the second about the same, and it was referred to the Councell of Latran. But *Frances* the first agreed thereunto, vpon certaine conditions with *Leo* the tenth, in the Citie of Bologne la Grasse, after that hee had gained all Lombardie. To wit, that a Bishopricke or Abbey becomming voide, the Chapter should

The enacting of La Pragmatique Sanction

ſhould not haue power to chooſe, but that it ſhould appertaine to the King, to name ſome one within ſixe moneths to the Pope, which he thought meet for ſuch a charge. This was the matter which the King ment, when hee ſpake of a remedie by his Embaſſador: for this was the raigne wherewith the Kings euer brideled the Popes, and when they fall a quarrelling with them, they preſſe to haue *La Pragmatique Sanction* reuiued, cheefely in this time in which Popes commaundementes are not ſo much reuerenced as heretofore they haue beene: and in reſpect that Fraunce is large and rich, Rome cannot wel miſſe the mony without great loſſe. Now the King ſince performed in deed, what he threatned heere to Pope *Iulye*, as we will handle hereafter. *Philip le Bel* King of Fraunce, vſed the ſame remedy againſt *Boniface* the eight, for becauſe that he had charged him to paſſe the Seas, and to make warre againſt the *Sarrazins*, not taking in good parte his excuſes, hee forbad him to leuie any monye vpon the Churches, (which the King of neceſſitie was conſtrained to doe) and if he would not obey, excommunicated him. The King ſent for all his Lords and eſtates of his Realme to Paris, where after hauing diſcourſed of the outrage of *Boniface*, and that all the Biſhops, Princes, and Gentlemen confeſſed that they helde all their ſubſtance meerely of his grace, bounty, and liberalitie, he forbad that any mony after ſhould be tranſported to Rome, and to that end cauſed a diligent watch to be kept in all the entries and paſſages. The ſumme which was found in the account of the Parliament of Paris, of that which the Biſhoppricks and Abbies being voide did paye, muſt be vnderſtoode of the time paſſed, for at this preſent the Taxes are augmented, and paſſe the annuall reuenues, ſo as ſome of the Clergie haue beene faine to leaue their Buls in the banquers hands for the ouer-great exaction. Now there are in Fraunce twelue archbiſhoppricks, Aix, Vienne, Lyons, Narbonne, Tholouze, Bourdeaux, Aux, Bourges, Tours, Rouen, Reims, and Sens: there are about 96. Biſhoppricks, by the vacaties of which is carried to Rome a maſſe of monye, and of the Archbiſhopprickes about threeſcore thouſand, three hundred crownes, as it is apparant by an accoũt made in the time of King *Lewis* the twelfth.

12. Articles in Fraunce.

Hereupon the King of Fraunce not content with the rigorous purſuites hee renewed againſt the Lutheranes, to the end that notwithſtanding the warre hee was reſolued of againſt the Pope, he might entertaine the Catholicke Princes in good opinion of his faith and Catholicke religion, would make further ſhewe of his dutie, and iuſt occaſions of warre, by a writing ſent vnto the Pope, of whoſe deepe diſgrace hee ſtoode well aſſured: declaring therein what iniurye was doone him. The cauſe of the warre of Parma, and why receiuing of *Octauian* into his protection, he forbad vnder great penaltie any mony to be tranſported to Rome: for conſidering that monye was the very ſinew of warre, what follye were it ſaide hee to nouriſhe a mans enemye with his owne wealth? The propertie of Popes was to pacifie quarrelles among Kings, which Pope *Paul* the third did, who altogeather creeping with age, came as farre as Nice into the Country of Genes, to reconcile his late Father to th'emperour. But *Iulye* ranne a cleane contrary courſe, for hauing no ſooner publiſhed the counſell moſt neceſſary for the common-wealth, he preſently mooued a warre, whereby the French Church one of the moſt principall of Chriſtendome, was cleane excluded: requiring a lawfull counſel might be ſummoned, to amend as wel the faults of the Prelates and other Miniſters of the Church, as a number of other thinges being there handled, to correct the vices of euery one. This was publyſhed at Paris by ſound of Trumpet the ſeuenth of September: anon after hee had proclaimed the Edict of *Chaſteau-Briant* againſt the Lutheranes. Shortly after, the Impe-

The K. letters and complaints againſt the Pope.

rials

rials cauſed the cleane contrary to be giuen out and proclaimed, in which the beginning of the warre of Parma was ſpecified, where hauing ſhewed how great reaſon the Pope had to be angry with *Octauian* and the Lord of Mirandolle, how contrary the King of Fraunce was bent, that ſought all occaſions and wrought all meanes to hinder the moſt honeſt enterpriſes of the Emperour, gaue notwithſtanding to wit, that *Charles* of Auſtria who helde his practiſes for little worth, would moſt couragiouſly and ſtoutly purſue the ende thereof. And whereas *Octauian* gaue out, that he was conſtrained by neceſsitie to put himſelfe vnder the ſafegarde and protection of the King of Fraunce, by reaſon of the outrages and pranckes of *Ferdinand Gonzague*, it was cleane refuted, for had there beene anye occaſion of feare (quoth the Emperour) he was the motyfe, who had often ſought meanes to cauſe him to be killed: it was after declared how Plaiſance was rendred vp to th'emperour, by reaſon that *Pierre Louis* the Popes Baſtard, enioying Parma and Plaiſance, behaued himſelfe ſo cruelly in his gouernement, that hee drewe the wrath of God vpon him, and euery mans hatred: by the example of *Nero*, eſpeciallye for his execrable wickednes, not onely with women, but very men: wherefore hee was moſt iuſtly murthered in his owne houſe by the Cittizens, which could not endure his cruelty any longer. This doone, the inhabitants for ſeeing their apparant and imminent danger, if they ſhould fall againe into the ſubiection of the Pope and Church of Rome, could finde no other refuge or more aſſured libertie, then to render thẽſelues to the Emperour: namely, hauing beene at other times vaſſailes of th'empire: they ſollicited then *Gonzague* and praied him to receiue thẽ into the Emperours protection, otherwiſe they would thinke of ſome other ſuccour and defence: it is but counterfait then in making ſemblance of feare, for the Emperour neuer gaue him occaſion, as one that had greatlye benefited the *Farnezes*, hauing choſen *Octauian* for his ſonne in law, and giuen the Citie of Nouarre for euer to his father *Louis*, and beſtowed on him the honor of Marqueſſe: but both of them oftentimes ſhewed themſelues maruelouſlye vngratefull, and eſpecially when they made ſhew of ayding him againſt certain rebels of Germany, for in the meane time they endeuoured to take from him both Lombardie, and Gennes it ſelfe: for proofe whereof *Ioannin Dorie* a vertuous man, if euer were any was moſt villanouſly murthered in the tumulte, while he faithfully employed himſelfe for the Emperour, and ſought to deliuer the Countrie from that daunger into which he ſaw it moſt ready to fall: there was ſhortly after an anſwere put in print vnder the name of the King of Fraunce, in which was rehearſed how the Emperour deſiring to winne vnto him *Paul* the third, had beſtowed vpon his ſonne *Pierre Louis*, the tytle and dignitie of Marqueſſe, had taken *Octauian* ſonne to *Pierre* for his ſonne in law, yeelding goodly benefites to *Alexander* his other ſonne, beſides which he had made an alliance with the Pope, wherin was eſpecially ſet down, that the Emperour ſhould confirme the decree of the conſiſtory of Cardinals, namely, that the Emperour ſhould confirme the principallitie of Parma and Plaiſance to the familye of *Farnezes*. Now whereas the Emperour made warre in Germany, puniſhing ſome priuate rebellions vnder pretence of ſetting vp of religion: this ſleight meruailouſly diſpleaſed the Pope, conſidering by this meanes he ſhewed well enough that hee had no regarde but to his perticular profit, and making of himſelfe great. And in truth ſaide the King, the Pope was no whit therein miſconceiued, for as ſoone as the warre was finiſhed, and the Emperour no more in need of the *Farnezes* aide, he publiquely declared his euill meaning conceiued againſt the Pope: for his Liuetenants of Italie had already found meanes to compaſſe Plaiſance, and anon after murtherers

The K. anſwere to the Emperours obiection.

therers were hired to kill *Pierre Louis* in his chamber: and before that euer the Cittizens had notice of the murther, men of warre were sent in to seaze of the Castle in the name of the Emperour, who if he had beene so ignorant of the fact, it had bene great reason that after the death of Pope *Paul*, he should haue sought the deliuery of the Cittie to the Church of Rome: but so farre was he from it, as he went about to take Parma out of the hands of his owne Nephewe, yea while Pope *Paul* liued, hee made pursuite thereof, in such sort that *Paul* taking a conceite thereat died for griefe. Afterwardes Ruffians were found at Parma, which of their owne accorde confessed that *Fernande Gonzague* had giuen them in charge to murther *Octauian*. He then perceiuing himselfe in this distresse, that such as ought to haue preserued him, yea his own father in law, sought to take from him not only his substance but his life, demanded succour of the King, and yeelded himselfe into his handes, which hee could not by any meanes gainsay, pressed thereunto by so many teares and reasons. The case standing thus, and for these occasions all the Princes being animated, euery one bestirred him to doe the worste he could against his enemie. Captaine *Powlin* hauing in readines his gallies and fleete at Marseilles, furnished and victualled for Scotland, tooke certaine Merchants Ships of Flaunders, vpon the English Sea, the which hee rifled, alleadging that vnder colour of traffique, they transported the victuail and munition of the Realme, to make themselues the better able to preuaile against Fraunce. Else-where the Gouernours of the frontires prepared themselues openly to the war: the Queene of Hungary in like sorte being gouerneresse for her Brother in the Lowe countrie, made stay of all Frenchmen and their goods, neere at the same time, that th'emperour discharging of *Marillac* Embassador for the King about his person, with many hard and angrye speaches against his Maister, had resolued to passe an armie into Fraunce, to be reuenged of the wrong which he saide he had sustained. And because it was doubted that hee would enter by Champagne, where *Bourdillon* was with certaine Troupes, the Duke of Neuers was sent thither with 10. companies of men at armes, which hee distributed for the better strengthening of the weaker Garrisons, prouiding as well as he could for the fortifications and munitions of those places, where he bestowed the eight olde bandes which the King had sent vnto him: while it was thus in working, they put out into the fielde, to be the better able to put in execution some soddaine surprisales, according to their olde intelligences, whereof very few tooke good effect. Then eche partie tarrying for the maine of his armye, made many little skirmishes, now with good, and now with bad fortune, as well on the one side as the other. In the meane time happened the defeat of a number of *Bourgonians*, which the company of *Gasper de Coligny* called *Chastillon*, defeated neere vnto Montcornet in Ardennes: leauing fiue hundred dead on the place, for recompence whereof, other making a shew but of a small company of Harquebusiers, presenting themselues neere vnto Mauber-Fontaine, charged and killed in an ambuscade, the Captaine *Gourdes*, accompanied with fiue and twentye olde souldiers, too ventrous and ill aduised, in not tarrying for *Bourdillon* and his people, who being arriued after their death, followed the *Bourgonians*, already retyred safe by the benefite of the wood, into which for want of Harquebusiers, they could not hinder more then two partes of them that had the victorie, to retreat in surety: as *Mazieres* stoode in great want of prouisions, ioyne thereto that a Souldier loueth best to get from the enemy, and keep his own for his necessitie: Captaine *Villefranche* hauing in the night planted a number of matches fiered, vpon the toppe of the Castle Ditches at Lumes, while that the Imperials discharged at them both Harquebu-

ſies, Culuerins, and other ſhotte, tooke all the cattell and other prouiſions which the inhabitants kept by fauour of the Portes: out of which, ſome of the moſt couragious hauing ſallyed by little, ſaw thẽſelues ſo bepelted with Harquebuſies, that they were conſtrained to let their prouiſions be carried to Maizieres. But the *Burgonians* hauing ſurpriſed the Caſtle of Aſpremont, which the yong Earle yeelded vp to the Duke of Neuers, and in a courſe killed Captaine *Ligneres*, and defeated the greateſt part of his company betweene Hedin and Monſtreuilſe, greatly bragged that they had beene ſo well reuenged. At the ſame time the Garriſons of Pickardie vnder the Duke of Vendoſme, and his brothers the Duke of Anguien and Prince of Conde, were no leſſe often and painefully awakened, then thoſe of Champaigne all the long winter, in which their maſters notwithſtanding were buſied about more high enterpriſes thẽ thoſe before mentioned, as I will make you well to perceiue.

Beholde theſe Princes hard at it, and the originall and preparation of their quarrels: whereupon I think good before that I paſſe any further to fetch the affaires of the Chriſtians from more high, to the end I may not giue any occaſion that ſhould turne you from the knowledge of that which I will entreate of: for as I ſpeak of war, of Religion, pollicie and other humane actions, when you ſhall ſee the Counſell of Trent mentioned, and not know to what end, when, nor by whome it was helde: the Lutheranes & obſtinate purſued with fire and bloud, of the time wherof you ſhould be ignorant, and of the places where they came into the worlde, by whome, and in what doctrine they ſtood inſtructed: if I ſpeake of the Proteſtantes banded againſt ſo great Potentates, and you not know whence they deſcended, nor why their Father was ſo named, nor the variable ſucceſſe of their enterpriſes, nor how, nor why they were ſuccoured by the Kings of Fraunce, England, and other Princes, with a number of things which would remaine vnknowne vnto you, for that you could not vnderſtand their beginning and progreſſe, you would take very ſmall delight therein: at the leaſt you will take double contentment, if all the whole be made manifeſt and plaine, as you would your ſelfe deſire: ſince then that the knowledge of naturall things content not the ſpirite, if the cauſe and reaſon thereof reſt vnknowne amidſt many accidents, a ſomewhat leſſe agreeable diſcourſe, by reaſon of the ignorance of their originall, ſhall ſatisfie the more curious ſorte, if in repreſenting therein vnto you their very ſpring and true motife, I ſhall not fetch it from ouer farre.

The originall and differẽce of Chriſtian religion in Fraunce.

As the iudgements of men are diuers and oftentimes contrary, ſo is there not any thing ſo common or generall whatſoeuer, that receiueth not alteration in ſome particular, which may eaſily be ſeene in all vocations, eſpecially in the doctrine which all embrace to the conduct of their ſaluation. For to holde my peace of the diuerſitie which is amõg the Chriſtians, half Chriſtians, Mahometiſts, Iewes Paganes and other, yea of the multitude of different and contrarie opinions, which is in euery one of them, it hath bene euer ſeene, that Chriſtendome how generall ſoeuer it hath at any time beene, was alwaies ſet at controuerſie by ſome perticular iudgement: now in matter of ſubſtance, now in diſcipline, now in ceremonies and outward apparances, be it that it proceede of ignorance or of a good zeale, of malice or ſome indiſcretion of perſons, which aduaunce themſelues to ſpeake. And if wee ſhal ſeeke further examples then the memory of our fathers, it is moſt certaine that religion planted in Fraunce in the time of the Pagans, growne vnder the lyne of *Clouis*, was no ſooner eſtabliſhed vnder *Pepin* and his ſucceſſors, but the authoritie and conſequently abuſe of certaine of the Cleargie, encreaſing with the abundance of wealth, the zeale and curioſitie of ſuch as would reforme the diſcipline and life of the officers, encouraged

men

men by little and little to attempt to the ſubſtance, and ſome to band themſelues ſecretly and by writings, others with open mouth, againſt the Articles of doctrine, which they little iudged of, leſſe vnderſtoode, or worſe practiſed. As notwithſtanding the Paſtors confirming their generall receiued doctrine, by a better life then ours, authoriſed both by one and the other thorough a ſeuere puniſhment of iuſtice, to the example of euery one, ſo the reformation being hindered to grow by the diligence and ſtudie of the Biſhops and iuſticers, it could not ſpread ſo farre but that at this day, (when all eſtates are onely curious of their pleaſure and particuler profit) they haue themſelues giuen entrie to what they moſt complained off & leaſt doubted. So many held their peace, and the hardeſt could not gaine ſo much, as to make any other opinion runne among the people then the common, vntil that the officers of the Church and iuſtice, ſurpriſed in their dutie, by ſuch as ſpied but an occaſion fit to giue entrie vnto their opinions, ſaw themſelues ſooner beaten then aſſailed, by thoſe whoſe very firſt March they alwaies before deſpiſed. Then after manye and light brunts with the common faith receiued in Fraunce, (ſince the ſure and publicke eſtabliſhmentes of Chriſtian Religion) by *Berenger* of Tours, *Abeyllard Breton*, *Amaury* of Chartres, *Arnold* of Breſſe, and other, followed by a great number of Sectaries as well in this Realme as elſe where, it neuer was ſo earneſtly aſſaulted as by the *Vaudois* and their ſucceſſors in Guienne and Countries about, which they named Albigeois of the towne of Alby chiefe of Albigeois, ſcituate betweene Languedos and Quercy. Who in ſpight of all the Potentates of Chriſtendome ſowed about the yeare 1100. and euen ſince their doctrine ſmally differing from the Proteſtants at this day: Not onely through Fraunce, but almoſt all the Countries of Europe. For the French, Spaniſh, Engliſh, Scots, Italians, Germaines, Bohemians, Saxons, Polonians, Lithuaniens and other people haue mightily defended it vntill this preſent. After that this doctrine had a while crept thorough Fraunce, in the end as the heate of burning coles doth exhalate and pearce thorough by little and little, the thickneſſe of the Sinders not able to quench it, it grew more commonly knowne, by Prayers, publike exhortations, adminiſtrations of Sacraments and other vſes, the courſe whereof the Clergie not being able to hinder, ſought vnder the authoritie of the Pope, aide and force at the hands of Chriſtian Princes, whome they ſpeedely armed againſt the Albigeois. Whom after a number of aſſaults, battels, reencounters, loſſes, ruines, victories and reciprocal aduantages, from the yeare 1200. For 50. yeares after euer maintaining by armes and force the outward ſhew of their liues, their doctrine and their Countrie together, vntil that the chiefe of them were defeated and empoueriſhed, other gained by faire proteſtations & promiſes of better hap, and all in generall together wearie with the continuance of ſo long Ciuil warres: The Chriſtian Princes and Prelats of the Church left (as in contempt) a wandering people of all parts terrified with ſo cruell a warre, inſiſting in their firſt opinion, which rather the eaſe of the reſt they after felt cauſed them to chaunge, then any rigour of their enemies. So as all the French anon after returned to the ſame doctrine, from which their fathers had ſo much ſwarued, except ſuch as retired themſelues into the mountaines, chiefely the *Prouencaux*, *Sauoyarts*, *Dauphinois*, and *Piemontois*: of whome there were many ſent into Lombardie, Calabria, Pouille, Sicille, Germaine and other places, to the end they might plant the fruite of that doctrine which they ſtoode aſſured was the moſt true & auncient of Chriſtendome. Now the Engliſh was Lord of Guienne in the time of theſe Albigeois wars, by reaſon that *Henrie* of Anion after the death of *Stephen* became king of England, Duke of Normandie, Earle of Anion Tourraine,

How the doctrine of the Vaudois and Albigeois was diſperſed thorough Europe

Opinions ſooner changed by eaſe and reſt then violence

The Engliſh Lords of Guienne in france Normandie, Poictou, Anjou, &c.

Tourraine and Maine. And afterwards grew to be Earle of Poictou and Duke of Aquitaine (called Guienne) by vertue of *Eleonor* his wife daughter to *Guillame*, laſt Earle of Poictou, whom king *Lowys le Ieune* had diuourced. So as ſundry Engliſh men, which ordinarily came into thoſe countries, either by reaſons of trafique and marchandiſe, or warre againſt the French, had ſpeedely enough being imbrued with the ſame opinions, ſpread them abroad in their owne Countrie. Which hauing beene conceiued and explaned by manie, in the end fell from hand to hand into the heade of *Wickliſe*, about 50. yeares after, a greatly renowned Diuine in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and Curate of Luteruorth in the Dioceſſe of Lincolne. Who in the end being a Doctor in Diuinitie thorough his eloquence and rare Doctrine, gained ſo farre the harts and vnderſtandings of the Engliſh, and chiefely of the greateſt ſorte, as the Duke of Lancaſter vncle to king *Richard*, *Henrie* of Perſye, *Lewes Clifford*, the Chaunlor *Kegli*, the Earle of Sarisburie & others, as a long time after he preached, wrought and diſperſed with all libertie what beſt ſeemed good vnto him. Moſt chiefely vnder King *Edward*. True it is that Pope *Alexander* thorough the ſollicitings of the chiefe of the Clergie, animated *Richard* his ſucceſſor, much againſt him in the yere 1382: Who preuailed ſo farre, that after ſundrie diſputations of the Articles of his faith, hee was baniſhed, afterwards called home, and dyed. 1387. But 40. yeares after his deceaſe, his body was puld out of the grounde by the Popes commandement, and his bones burned at Oxford 1410. before the Abbot of Shrewsberie then Chancelor. And albeit that 13. yeares after his death, 1401. his doctrine was vtterly condemned in open Parliament, with an Iniunction to all men to ſeeke out thoſe Lollards, (ſo called they ſuch as profeſſed that order of doctrine, according vnto thoſe of Pologne, and borderers vnto it) yet for all that, could it not hinder the multiplying thereof as well in that Countrie as elſe where. Chiefely in Germanie, by reaſon of the great learning which was taught by the famous Fathers of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: Wher among other, a Scholer of Bohemia, being much delighted in a booke of *Wickliſes* called *The Vniuerſales*, caried a Coppie thereof with him into his Countrie, where the Vniuerſitie of Prague was of great commendations. In which *Iohn Hus* more renowned then the reſt for his quicknes of ſpirite, made himſelfe for all that much better knowne after the reading of thoſe bookes: which he explaned and ſo much thereby encreaſed the doctrine which long ſince was ſpread abroad in thoſe quarters, that many of the people, Scholers, and of the very Nobles and Clergie themſelues, followed the ſame as a matter worthy to bee receiued among men. Now among the reſt of the people which for their conſcience were perſecuted, the Bohemians had beene long before *Iohn Hus*, by *Venceſlaus* King of Bohemia, who made great ſearch after them & roundly puniſhed them. And by the Pope, who long before that, had ſent thither an inquiſitor of the ill affected of the faith, who (*Iohn Hus* liuing) was named Biſhop of Nazaret. Be it then that the perſecutions either coolled this kinde of people thorough out Chriſtendome, or that the Princes and Cleargie made no accounte of thoſe, who ſtanding fauoured by no great perſonages became all ſimple people and inhabitants of the Montaignes, as thoſe of Piemont, Sauoye, Calabria, and other, the Bohemians ſtoode at that inſtant moſt renowned and worſt ment to. Eſpecially after that *Hus* had reformed his preaching, leaſſons and writings by the tradition of *Wickliſe*. So as in the yeare, 1414. the Counſell being ſummoned at Conſtance, for the controuerſie of the Popes, and reformation of the Cleargie, *Iohn Hus* a Batchelor in Diuinitie, to the end to purge himſelfe of the hereſie which was laide to his charge, was cited thither by the Pope, and after hauing refuſed to come, accounting it no ſafe or ſure place, hee

The Religion of the Vaudois diſperſed thorough England.

VVicklife his Doctrine.

Lollards in England, Liuonia, Sermatia, &c.

How the doctrine of the Vaudois and Wicklife was carried into Polonia, Bohemia, and other countries of Almaine.

The Bohemians and Almaines perſecuted by the Popes inquiſitors before Iohn Hus.

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was perſwaded by *Sigiſmond* the Emperour that they might ſafely goe thether and returne againe, at the requeſt of his brother *Venceſlaus* King of the Countrie: and beſides that *Venceſlaus* of Dube, and *Iohn De Chlum* Gentlemen of Pologne, ſhould accompanie him. But ſo farre was hee from being ſuffered to preſent himſelfe to the aſſembly of the Councell, to render accounte of his faith as the Emperour and his brother would haue had it, that the Cardinals clapt him vp cloſe priſoner: & cleane contrarie to the earneſt requeſts, which not onely many Gentlemen of Bohemia, but the very Vniuerſitie of Prague made, that he might not bee condemned before hee were publikely hard. But in the end the Emperour being perſwaded, that there could bee no defence, ſafe conduct or other meanes yeelded to him, which had beene alreadie condemned as an heretique, and eſpecially a Proteſtant, publike profeſt, and that he ought rather to prepare woode and fire to conſume him into aſhes, if he would not decline from his obſtinacie, the ſeuenth of Iuly preſiding amidſt al the Princes & Prelates with his imperiall robes in the great temple of Conſtance, after certaine Articles there drawne out of his writings as hereticall, one of the deputies which examined him, pronounced that the Councell declared him for an heretique, a Diſciple and fauourer of *Wicklife*, whoſe books had beene already burnt by a Councel at Rome, that he was wilfull in his hereſies, for the appeale which he had caſt in from the Councell to *Ieſus*, reprouing his appellation as ſcandalous and iniurious to the Popes authoritie and Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction: and therefore hee was to bee diſgraded of his Prieſtly order, with all infamie and reproch, afterwardes the Biſhops attired him in a profane garment and eſtate, and gaue him a crowne of Paper one cubite high, painted with three blacke and ougly Deuils, hauing for deuiſe *Hereſiarcha* as one ſhoulde ſaye the chiefe and Prince of heretiques. This doone the Emperour into whoſe handes the Cleargie had put him, as the ſecular arme, commanded D. *Louis* of Bauiere, kneeling before him with his ornament in his hand an Apple of Golde and the figure of the Croſſe) to deliuer him to the hangman, who hauing burned his bookes, and tyed him faſt with an yron cheane to a ſtake, piled vp with woode and ſtrawe to his chinne, ſoone conſumed him to aſhes, which they flong into the Rhine, to the end no more memorie ſhould remaine of him. Hereupon the Princes for to remedie all abuſes, and replante the Church in her firſt glorie, depoſed Pope *Iohn* 24. of that name, as a Simonous heretique, and man-ſlaier, who fled diſguiſed to Scafuſen, and from thence to Fribourg in Briſgoe: But being taken in the fift yeare of his Pontificate, was three yeares kept priſoner. *Gregorie* who likewiſe had held him ſelfe for Pope, diſmiſſed himſelfe of the popedome. And *Pierre de la Lune* named Pope *Benoiſt*, was condemned for ſundrie offences. *Iohn Gerſon* Chauncelor of the Vniuerſitie of Paris (which had ſent him with others to Conſtance) ſayde that neuer there woulde bee any Peace in the Church vntill the Moone were taken awaie. *Martin* the fift of that name before called *Ame de Sauoie*, was choſen and approued of all.

Councell of Conſtance ſummoned for the reformation of the Church.

Iohn Hus, condemned, and burnt as an heretique at Conſtance, notwithſtanding the Emperours ſafe conduct.

Popes depoſed.

Hieroſme of Prague companion to *Iohn Hus*, vnderſtanding of his entertainement, departed out of Bohemia, and the 4. of April 1415. arriued neere Conſtance to comfort him, and offered to anſwere all ſuch iniuries in open councell as were giuen out of them of Bohemia, if they would giue him any ſafe-conduct: which being refuſed by the Emperour, he contented himſelfe in obtaining of the Lords and Protector of Bohemia, their letters ſealed with their ſeales, witneſſing his innocencie, and that he was come to anſwere ſuch reproches as his aduerſaries had giuen out: but as hee thought to haue returned, hee was taken and carried to Conſtance, where he was ſo ſtraightly vſed and examined, that in the end he publiquely rehearſed a forme of abiuration

Ierome of Prag, condemned and burned at Conſtance as Iohn Hus.

iuration, which they deliuered vnto him, confeſſing further that *Iohn Hus* was lawfully puniſhed. But as they let him goe neuer a whit the ſooner for that, and thereuppon certaine *Carmes* of Bohemia being come with new accuſations, he recanted and ſtucke ſo faſt to his firſt opinion, that the councell condemned him as before they did *Iohn Hus*, whence he appealed vnto *Ieſus Chriſt*: ſo that (ſaid hee) after one hundred yeares you ſhall make account for me: but the hangmen did as much for him as the other. *Pope Florentin* being preſent at all, greatly commended in a wrighting which he ſent vnto *Leonard Aretin*, the eloquence, grace, knowledge, and maruellous conſtancie of *Hieroſme*: thinking nothing wanting in him but a conformitie of the common faith. Now when theſe newes were carried into Bohemia, ſuch Gentlemen and other as had beene inſtructed in this doctrine, growing maruellous angrye, ſent their letters to the Princes and Prelates of *Conſtance*, to teſtifie their conceiued diſpleaſure, and their reſolution to perſiſt in the ſame opinion euen to the death and coſt of the moſt miſchieuous, foure and fiftie of the beſt calling ſigned and ſealed it with their ſeales. And indeed as rigours onely doe not cauſe men to change opinion, but oftentimes make them more wilfully to perſiſt therein: the *Huſsite* Bohemians multiplying more and more, beſought of their King *Venceſlaus* many Temples, in which they might exerciſe and aduaunce their doctrine, being ſuch a number of people as hourely were gained, among the reſt *Iohn Ziſcha* of Troſnouie, one of the moſt renowned warriers that followed the King, and which had loſt one of his eyes in the former factions, leuied a number of men to the ruine of as many Prieſts and Monkes as they found to haue beene authors of the matter of Conſtance: and ſo began to pul downe Temples, bruſe the Images, throwe downe the Monaſteries, and pull out the Monkes, whome they named Swine fatted in their Cloiſter: finally in ſmal time were aſſembled more then fortie thouſand men, maintaining the doctrine of *Iohn Hus*. In the mean while *Sigiſmond* the Emperour, & true heire to the kingdom of Bohemia by the deceaſe of his Brother, going thither to take poſſeſsion, found all paſſages ſhut by the people, who extreamly hated him for breach of his faith: ſo as after many a good and badde reencounter on the one ſide and the other, he loſt his other eye likewiſe at the ſiege of Rabi, and yet ceaſſed not for all that to conducte and gouerne his army, yea oftentimes breaking the troupes of *Sigiſmonde*, compoſed of Hungarians, Bohemians, Moraues, Almanes and Danes: for *Eric* King of Denmarke was come thither to ſuccour him, with *Pierre* Infant of Portugall; in ſorte that the Emperour perceiuing that hee could not otherwiſe remedye it, gained him by faire promiſes of graunting vnto him what charge ſoeuer he would require. But *Ziſcha* as hee was going to the Emperour dyed of the Plague, and being asked in his ſickneſſe where hee would be buried, anſwered that he would haue them flea his body after his death, and with his skinne head a Drumme, at the ſounde whereof hee doubted not but all his enemies would ſoone betake them to their heeles.

The Bohemians angrye, growe more reſolute by the death of Hus and Hierom.

Captain Ziſcha leuieth men againſt the Prieſts & Monkes of Bohemia.

From this time forwards the perſecutions cõtinued in the church, almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome, at the purſute of the Iuquiſitors who were annimated enough againſt the ill affected in the faith, but more againe ſome perticular and ſimple people then perſons of marke, vntill the comming of *Luther*, which then they the more augmented as they ſaw mens faith, beleefe and charitie, to diminiſh towards men of the Church: ſo as the Chriſtian faith being receiued and oppugned almoſte in euerye countrie, though in ſome one leſſe ſharpely then other (where great ones countenanced them out, by credit, force of arms, and other means) you may not finde it ſtrange if the religion leſſe common and more ſecret, ſeeking in all times and places but occaſion

Luther & his beginning 1518.

sion and meanes fit to lifte vp and spread it selfe abroade, knew well how to take her time in the end 1518. to make her selfe knowne by the negligence of the Germaine Prelates, and the diligence and hardines of *Luther*, who reuiuing of these olde opinions, and adding thereunto what before but by the ignorance of the simple people he thought omitted, afterwards explaining the same by a well ordered deliuery, and expressing it in his Sermons and wrightings, through his eloquence and doctrine, discouered vnto vs such a kinde of reformation, as hath engendred more strange effectes then euer any man could see, read, or vnderstand to haue bene practised in any other place. Now for that the particulars are very memorable and worthy to be left to the posteritie, I am contented to fetch the narration therof, from the first originall, to the ende I would not leaue any thing vnto you, which might staye you from the entire knowledge of so notable accidents, as vpon this occasion made all christendome both admire and stand wonderfully astonied.

Generall pardons published through Christendom 1517.

The pardons which Pope *Leo* published throughout the world, 1517. to get mony, and prouide for a warre pretended against the Turke, were an occasion together with the abuses his Treasorers offred in the leuying thereof, (as the most learned and notable writers as well of Germany as Italy hath left) that *Luther* first declared himselfe an enemy to the ouercharging of consciences, then a Censor of Popes and ecclesiasticall abuses, to reforme in the ende the more receaued doctrine in the Christian Church, for first he found himselfe agreeued at the pardons, next banded himselfe against the insolencies of Receiuers, and hauing put in question the autoritye of the Pope, which defended them, he came by little and little cleane to contemne the doctrine of the Church of Rome: next to reforme it, and in the end vtterly to reiecte it. Now as *Leo* (say they) vsed too licentiously the authoritie of the Romish Sea, chiefly in such graces as the Court gaue of spirituall and beneficiall matters, by the councell of *Laurens Pucey* Cardinall of the title of 4. Sains, so hee scattered throughout, without distinction of time or place, his generall pardons of pleanary remission, aswell for the quicke as the dead: and deliuered soules out of the paines of Purgatory. And because such fauours were deliuered so there were mony, and that the Treasurers bought their offices at the Popes handes, and that little which did come vnto his hands was spent badly enough in other affaires, that hee sawe many of his Ministers sell for small price, yea play away at Tauernes, power to deliuer soules out of Purgatorye, and that the Pope (who by the meekenes of his owne nature, exercised in many things his pontificall office with little enough Maiestie) had at one blowe giuen vnto his sister *Magdelaine* the profit of such Indulgences as might be reaped in sundry Countries of Germany, who deputed for her the Bishop *Arebant*, that executed his charge but with too much couetousnes and extortion: and that *Leo* had permitted the King of Fraunce, to vse the last payments of his own Realme as should please him vntill the warre against the Turke; all sauing 50. thousand crowns which he gaue to *Laurence de Medicis* his Nephew. *Luther* a Regent Doctor in diuinitie, thought thē he had read, seene, and heard enough to despise such Indulgences, and to be able to taxe therein the authoritie of the Pope: but afterwards a great number of Auditors running thither, to the end they might heare some noueltye to delight them, the popular winde, no lesse then the fauour of the Duke of *Saxe*, one of the electors of the Empire, and the greatest landed of all Germany, so egged him forward that hee did not only band himself against the power of the Popes, and authoritie of the Church of Rome, but yeelding himselfe to the anger conceiued, for the iniuries and sharpe pursuites of the Receiuers, and such as spurned against him, hee grew in the ende to

make open warre againſt the doctrine of the Church. The Pope as they ſay beſtirred himſelfe well in the beginning for to quench this fire, but not vſing the proper remedies & medicines, he did but impaire ſo great a maladie, for he cited *Luther* to Rome, he forbad him to preach, and after ſeeing of his diſobedience, he gaue him ouer to the cenſure of the Church, neuer himſelfe in all this time abſtaining from many things of euill example: which hauing bene with reaſon blamed by *Luther*, were by his Sermons, leſſons, and writings, rendred a great deale more odious to euery man: ſo as proceeding againſt him with Eccleſiaſticall weapons, without amending matters of euil example in his own Court at Rome, (and which ſince they were made and conſtrained to reforme) ſo much the more grew the reputation of *Luther* among the people, as they ſawe him more perſecuted for the innocencie of his life, and pure doctrine which he preached then any thing elſe. And albeit that many were of opinion both at Rome and elſewhere, that it were leſſe inconuenience to diſſemble the fire of ſuch follie, which peraduenture would growe of it ſelfe into ſmoake, then in kindling and blowing it through the ſharpenes of ſuch purſuites, to make it encreaſe and growe in greater blaze then before: and chiefely for that a little wealth and honor had in the beginning, made him to eate his worde, namely, at ſuch time as hee was baniſhed by the Emperour at the Diet of Wormes, aſſuring themſelues to haue ſeene him in ſuch a fright, as if the iniurious and threatning wordes of the Cardinall *S. Xixte*, Legat had not led him to a laſt diſpaire, hee would gladly enough haue beene reconciled to the Church, and beene made to leaue his opinions. So it came to paſſe (as men are rather enclined to remedie inconueniences by vehemency and rigour, then fair means and curteſie) that not onely the perſecutions which augmented daylye againſt him and his *Lutheranes*, but alſo a terrible excommunication being reſolued againſt the Duke of Saxe, rendred this Prince more feruent thē euer, to the defence of the cauſe. True it is that the opinion which was helde among many Princes, that the followers of this doctrine were no leſſe enemies to the temporall Lordes, then to the authoritie of the Churchmen, was an occaſion that many ſoueraign and other Magiſtrates, diligently hindred, and with great ſeueritie, the publication therof in their countries. Beſides that the multitude and contrariety of moſt abſurde hereſies, which crept in at that very time, did maruelouſly retarde the beginning, yea and bring a maruellous abatement to the doctrine it ſelfe: but the liberty which the people in the end reſumed in their manner of life, (I will holde my peace as concerning the merite of the doctrine) and the couetous obſtinacy of great ones, who could neuer be broght to leaue any more their ancient manners, then the goods which they vſurped of the Church, did adde vnto him ſo ſtrong winges, that many preſaged his more high and loftye flight, then hath as yet beene ſeene, howſoeuer in a worde to teach perticularlye the beginning of his reformation.

Luther cited to Rome,

What cauſed a ſtay of Luthers reformation.

Martin Luther borne the 10. of Nouember 1483. at Iſlebe in the Countye of Mansfelde, ſent to Magdeburg and Iſcena to plye his ſtudye, and then being giuen altogither to Logique and Philoſophie at Erforde, ſhortlye after rendred himſelfe Munke in the Conuent of *Auguſtines*, againſt the will of his parentes and friendes, giuing himſelfe to the ſtudie of Diuinitie, in liew of the Ciuill and Cannon law, to the expectation whereof as well his firſt bringing vp, as the deſire of his parents would haue deſtined him. So as *Stupice* Vicar of the order of the *Auguſtines*, who had the charge of the Vniuerſitie lately erected at Witemburge in Saxe vpon the Riuer of Albye, made *Luther* goe thither to reade Diuinitie Lecture: ſince being returned from Rome, whether in the yeare 1510. his brethren had ſent him to ſollicite and

Martin Luthers beginning, profeſſion, and carriadge of life.

Luther himſelfe confeſſeth it in his anſwer to the book which H.D. of Brunwick wrote a-ſt him

follow

followe a sute which they had there, hee passed himselfe Doctor at the expences of Duke *Frederic* of Saxe, elector of th'empire, vnder whome as he seldome employed himselfe but in his studie, and that more then 2. thirds of Christians, with one consent approued the faith and catholique Romane religion, the suddaine and vnlooked for accident of generall pardons, occasioned him though vnskilfully, to debate in the beginning, by way of Colledge disputations, some pointes different in Religion. Afterwards the fire of an ambitious anger, inflamed by the vndiscreet couetousnes of certaine Questors, encreased by the iniurious gain-sayinges of such and other his aduersaries, ioyned thereto the zeale which he had to guide the more simple sort, in a way which seemed better vnto him, encouraged him to reforme and in the ende to reiect almost all the doctrine which had beene generally receiued of our fathers, as soone as he saw himselfe excommunicated by the Pope, and banished by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, 1519. See heere the beginning of pardons, and true motife of the Croizade, the fruites whereof at firste being ordained for the defence of the Christian faith and nation, were imployed notwithstanding as you shall perceiue.

1541. as Sleyden reporteth in the 14. of his history, repeating Luthers words, who discouered the occasions which moued him to preach and write against pardons. My name, saith he, began to grow famous because no man was found else that durst oppose himselfe. This little glory was pleasing as then vnto me, &c.

Selim King of Turkes, a naturall and ancient enemie to the Christians, had made himselfe in that time so much more dreadfull to them all, as besides the consideration of his new conquests, whereby he had increased the *Ottoman* empire, he dreamed of nothing more puffed vp by reading of the happy carriages of *Alexander* the great, then to make the conquest of the worlde more easie to himselfe then the other: for hauing caused *Baiazet* his Father (who had thought to haue made *Acomat* his eldest brother King) with *Acomat*, *Corcu* his brethren, and all their race to be murthered, was halfe perswaded to haue done as much to his owne onely sonne *Solyman*: he tamed the Aduliens, defeated the Zophy in battaile, took Tauris chiefe Cittie of Persia, and parte of the Realme, which being forced to leaue for want of victuall, and turning toward Syria, ouerthrew two Souldanes of Egipt, and after hauing made a cleane end of *Mamelus* race, principall of the Souldanes, he inuested himselfe in their kingdomes, for gouernement whereof hauing left a Lord in Caire, chiefe Cittie of the Countrie, almost doubled his reuennues, and entertaining armes both by Sea and land, for th'execution of higher intents, made himselfe so horriblye feared of his neighbours, as the lesse assured tooke all paines to animate the rest of the Potentates to oppose themselues against his enterprises: who fearing least the good hap of his so great victories atchieued, would make his hart swell to the aspiring of their ruine, chiefely considering that he so prosperously accompanied his power & valour with a burning desire of making himselfe a Monarque, and by his famous enterprises, his name appeered most glorious to posteritie: determined at the earnest solliciting of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and Pope *Leo*, to make the greatest masse of men, armour, and monie, that they were able, to the end they might at least exclude his entrie into Christendome, if they found not themselues able to perfourm any way his ruyne: imagining that he would attempt Rhodes or Hungarie, if hee ment not to discende into Italye, by the example of *Mahomet* his Grandfather, who surprized Otrante with a very smal power which hee sent thither. The Pope then & the whole Court of Rome after certain solemne Processions, in which they went bare-footed, sent brieues to all Princes, to giue them warning of the imminent danger, and to pray them that all their quarrels set aside, they would readily aduise for the defence of Religion and common health, growing so vncertaine, if by a generall force and agreement they would not make warre in Turkie, to assaile the enemy in his owne home: whereupon hauing well considered of the estate between the Turks and Christians, it was

Selim King of Turkes dreadfull to his enemies.

Selims cruelty towards his father, bretheren and race.

Pope Leo endeuoureth the Christian Princes to enter league against the Turkes.

it was reſolued that the Emperour accompanied with Hungarians, Polonians, and Germanes, ſhuld ſet forward through Danube in Boſsine, (anciently Miſia) to the end to paſſe into Thracia, and ſo approch Cõſtantinople, the cheefe ſeate of *Ottomans*: that the King of Fraunce with the Italians and Zuiſsers, ſhould paſſe from the Port of Brundieſe into Albanie, (a very eaſie and ſhorte paſſage) to conquere Greece, which being peopled with Chriſtans, & in generall too rigorouſly handled by the Turkes, was in a maner readie to reuolte, that the King of Spaines, Portugal & Englands forces, ioyned by Sea at Carthage, and hauens thereabouts, ſhould prepare for the ſtraight of Gallipoly to aſſault Conſtantinople, after hauing taken the Dardanes, otherwiſe the Caſtles ſeated at the mouth of the ſtraight, that the Pope ſhould followe from Ancone with one hundred Gallies, and that for the maintenance therof ſhould be made the greateſt prouiſion of monye that was poſſible, by a voluntary contribution among the Princes, and a forme of Impoſt free in generall to be gathered thoroughout Chriſtendome. This act proclaimed vniuerſall Truce for fiue yeares thoroughout Chriſtendome, vnder paines of great cenſures to the breakers thereof: and to the end that all particulars of greater importance which ſprung from ſo high an affaire, might be the better reſolued of the one ſide and the other, by the aduiſe of the Princes Embaſſadors which were reſident about his perſon, hee ſent out men of worth and reputation, (all Cardinals) for his Legates to all Princes. Now albeit this beginning had bred in the hart of euery one, a great hope of a laudable conduct and mo.. happy end to enſue the whole plat, yea after the Truce was accepted of among them, which ſhewed themſelues with great vaunts and mighty words, ready for the execution of ſuch an enterpriſe, yet each one finding very vneaſie the conduct of a matter ſo greatly important, the euent vncertaine, farre diſtance, and more appertayning to the eſtates of the one then the other, and which asked a farre longer time to compaſſe among themſelues ſo vniuerſall an vnion and affection, as was requiſite to this action, the priuate intereſts and commodities cleane carried away the conſideration of the publique. In ſuch ſorte that theſe practiſes were not onely not brought to any aſſured hope of to come, but were handled lightly, and almoſt in a kinde of ceremonie, each one to acquite himſelfe ſo of his duetie: according to the nature of men to whom things in the beginning ſeeming moſt terrible, doe ſo diminiſh day by day, and vaniſh by little and little in ſuch ſorte, that without a chaunce of new accidents which may renew their feare, they yeelde themſelues but too ſoone aſſured of what may afterwards betide them: ſo as this negligence of the publique cauſe, & immoderate affection of ſome particular, was the more confirmed by the death of *Selim*, (whoſe long ſicknes had delaied, and his death after cleane broken the preparations of the warre) who left ſo great an Empire to his ſonne *Soliman*, yong of age, but accounted of a milde ſpirite and little courage, (though his effectes after ſhewed the contrary) that the Chriſtians not eſteeming him borne for armes, ſoone enough freed themſelues of the feare which they had had of the actions paſſed. Notwithſtanding before the death of *Selim*, and during the occaſions as yet they had to feare the Turke, the Emperour aſſigned a day at Ausbourge, whether all the Princes chriſtned were ſummoned to anſwere. And to that end Pope *Leo* ſent his Bulls of great pardons throughout all Chriſtendome, with promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes, and kingdom of heauen, to all ſuch as would help the Church with a certain ſumme of monie: and as well to aduance forward his Indulgences, as to animate the Chriſtians to this warre, he diſpatched *Thomas Caietan* his Legate into Germanie. Heereupon the quicke and prompt ſpirite of Luther, who as the moſt renowmed of his owne profeſſion

How the Chriſtians armie ſhould be beſtowed to annoy the Turke.

Chriſtian Princes rather reſpected their particular, then the common cauſe.

Selim dieth, Soliman ſucceedeth.

fession had already read many sortes of Bookes, in the most famous Vniuersitie of Germanye, found the preachinges and cariadges of these Questors very strange. Afrerwards comming to doubt of the vertue of pardons, because hee saide that hee neuer remembred he found in his bookes that one ought to make traffique of the sinnes of men, and least that they could be redeemed with any monie, but the bloud of Christ, since that the Cannon did teach sinnes could not be remitted by pardons, no more then that the Preachers ought to sell license, to eate Egges, Milke, Flesh, and Cheese, vpon daies forbidden, promising besides to forgiue all sinnes, how great soeuer, yea and to come, sent out his letters in October 1517. to certaine Prelates of Germany, praying them to take order therein, to reformne the preachinges and imprinted bookes of those Questors: and since sent ninety fiue propositions (a little before published at Witemburge in manner of a scholasticall disputation) of Purgatory, Penance, duetie of Charitie, Indulgences and pardons, to search out, saide hee, the truth, and not to resolue: protesting that he would affirme nothing therein, but submit all to the iudgement of the holy Church. Now he first addressed himselfe to the Archbishop of Mayence for the reasons which ensue. *Albert* of Brandebourge hauing bene lately by Pope *Leo* created Archbishop of Mayence, seeing that the Chaptre and Cannons excused themselues by reason of their former charges, not to bee able to furnish him with monye to buye his (4) Episcopall mantle, which will cost aboue thirtye thousand Crownes, before it bee brought home, found meanes by accorde with the Pope, to sende *Iohn Tekel* a Iacobin, to preach pardons (alreadye published else where) throughout all his Dioceese, and to set forth their vertue to all such as would disburse monye, with charge that halfe the gaine should returne to Rome, for the building vp of the Church of S. *Peter*, for in as much as the Foucres of Germanie had impreste their monie, there could not be a better meanes then this found to repaire them. Such was the first, howsoeuer the most apparant beginning of our euils, drawne from a thrid of wooll, which since hath been by so many people, in so many places, and so strongly winded and writhed, as many millions of men haue bene thereby hanged and strangled. Now beit for feare of censures, or thunder of excommunication, which these Questors caried about with them, no man durst lifte vp his head to bande against them but *Luther*: many Diuines and Lawyers, to apease the murmures & shut his mouth, began to inueigh against him by a form of answer to his so late and hardye propositions: among the rest *Iohn Tekel* published certaine theames cleane contrary, at Frankfort on the Viadre, in the seignorie of Brandebourghe, praising therein aboue all, the authoritie of the Pope, the profit of pardons, and the woodden Crosse, which the Pope had caused to be set vp in all Temples, comparing it to *Iesus Christ*, as *Leo* to S. *Peter*: whereupon *Luther* taking occasion to manifest himselfe, sent the explication of his owne to sundry, and euen to *Leo* himselfe, in Iune 1518. declaring vnto him what follies his Questors had taught, and their pickerie of the simplier people, trusting vpon or abusing his authoritie, and for that hee doubted he might be accused towards him, he besought him to giue no credit to their calumnies, considering that *Frederick* the Elector, the vniuersitie of Wittenberge, nor so many other would haue approued his actions if there had bene any impiety in them: In summe, hee submitted his writinges, his life, and his health to his good pleasure, accounting whatsoeuer should proceede from him as from Christ, not refusing to haue his head strooke of if he would so ordaine it. Hereupon *Iohn Eccius* a Diuine, published to the contrary a Booke, entituled *Les Effaceurs*, to cote the faultes of *Luthers* writings. But he that most of all animated him, was *Siluestre Prieras*, Iacobin ma-

ster

The pasore-piscopal mantle, how made and giuen by Popes.

(4) Made of the wool of two white Muttons, set vpon the Aulter in S. Agnes Church, while *Agnus Dei* is sung vpon that holy day, and afterwards giuē to the Subdeacons of S. Peters, who shere them at shering time, and of the yarne which cōmeth from them among other, maketh a mantle three fingers broad, & reaching from the shoulders to the calfe of the leg with little knobs of lead at the skirts, from thence laide vpon the corps of S. Peter & S. Paul, with certaine praiers, and kept there one night, with great ceremony, after deliuered to him that must haue it, and is only for Archbishops.

ſter of S. Pallaies, by a booke, where hauing ſet downe the Pope aboue the Councell, yea and the ſcripture it ſelfe, which ſaid he had no vertue and authoritie but from the Church and Pope of Rome, hee ſeemed to take occaſion to digreſſe vpon the great vertue of Indulgences, for Luther ſetting himſelfe to anſwere it, ſaid that it was a booke ſo full of horrible lyes and blaſphemies againſt the diuine name, that there is great apparence that Sathan was the very author: that if the Pope (ſaith he) and his Cardinals be of the ſame opinion, and if the like be helde and taught at Rome, there is no doubt but that it is the true ſeate of Antechriſt: wherefore Greece and Bohemia were moſt happie that were ſeperated from it, and thoſe contrariwiſe miſerable that helde neuer ſo little thereof: if then the Pope would not repreſſe this *Prieras*, if he made him not vnſay it, he proteſted that hee would be at diſcorde with him, and that he would be ſo far from acknowledging the Church of Rome for a true church, that he would contrariwiſe holde her for a taſte of all villanie, and for a place vowed to all impiety: vpon this difference heated by *Silueſtre*, he made him be cited to Rome, to come and defend his propoſitions. *Leo* commaunded *Caietan* rather by force of th'emperour to bring him to Ausbourghe, and from thence to Rome, commaunding all men to obey this commaundement, on paine of infamie and loſſe of goods: yea giuing entire abſolution of all ſinnes, to ſuch as would imploy themſelues to the execution thereof as abouesaide: and praying *Frederic* not to fauour him, but to ſend him away with ſpeede, promiſing to ſend him back againe, if hee were not found culpable: he warned alſo that *Gabriel* a Venetian, great Vicar of the Iacobins, that hee ſhould not ſuffer him to teach, and earneſtly ſollicited him by letters and meſſages, for by extreame diligence (ſaid he) the fire alreadye kindled muſt bee quenched. As things newly ſprung vp cannot cary any great force, but if by delay a miſchiefe be ſuffered to grow ſtronger, it is to be feared, that afterwards it may grow vncurable, conſidering that day by day the euill encreaſed, in which nothing is more to be ſhunned then delay: *Luther* would not goe thither, ſaying that the place ſtood very ſuſpitious and dangerous for him, but ſollicited to haue the cauſe debated in ſome free place of Germany. The vniuerſitie of Witemberg wrote in his fauour to Pope *Leo*, to whom hauing proteſted that he would neither think nor ſpeake againſt the faith receaued in the holy Sea, gaue notwithſtanding atteſtation of his good life and better doctrine, and beſought him to ordaine indifferent Iudges in Germanie: *Frederic* in the end dealt ſo farre with *Caietan*, that by the ſafe conduct of the Emperour, hee ſhould be admitted to defende his cauſe at Ausbourghe before him, without going at all to Rome: who ſet before him that hee ſhould repent himſelfe by acknowledging of his errour, and that hee ſhould no more wright ought which might trouble the peace of the Church: for the firſt, he ſaid he could not acknowledge that he had failed, but for the ſecond he would obey it. But *Caietan* telling him that he did not eſteem ſo highly of the Popes authoritie as he ought, & that in his propoſitions he ſhould ſay the merites of Chriſt were not the treaſure of Indulgences, (contrarye to the decree of *Clement* the ſixth) and that faith is neceſſary to ſuch as would receiue the holy Sacramẽt, in ſorte that they aſſured themſelues their ſinnes wer pardoned; It is falſe (ſaid he) before diuers witneſſes, one Notaire, and foure Councellers of the Emperours: & proteſted that he had euer honoured & reuerenced the Church of Rome, and that if he had ſaid ought repugnant thereunto, he would not abide by it: but in that hee was vrged to renounce his errour, hee ſaid hee did not think that euer hee ſpake any thing contrary to the ſcripture, opinion of ancient fathers, decree of Popes, or the right reaſon it ſelfe. Notwithſtanding for that he confeſſed he might faile, a matter naturall to

Luther appereth before Caietan the Popes Legat.

more

man, hee submitted himself to the knowledge of the holy church, & refused not that the vniuersities of Germany and Paris should yeeld their opinion, requiring then that the knowledge of the fact might bee sent to the Pope, nothing being able to come more pleasing vnto him, then to haue the voice of the Church vpon the same: he acknowledged how he had bene too bitter and lesse reuerent towards his dignitie, but the faulte was to be laide vpon th'importunitye of the Questors, and praied that hee might be pardoned, promising euer after greater modesty, and that euen in his preachings he would content the Pope, and would speake no more of pardons, if they would likewise shut vp the mouthes of his aduersaries: wherupon seeing that *Caietan* pressed him so sore to recant, otherwise threatned him with paines ordained by the Pope, and excõmunication if he repented not, he was coũcelled to appeal from him to the Pope. The appeale contained that the question of Pardons had bene disputed by many, and yet neuer certainly determined; & that in such questions it was lawful especially for Diuines to dispute, the which he the rather did, by reason of so sottish Questors, as exacted the people in so many kinde of sorts, and yet not to affirme any thing therin, but the better to know the truth, leauing the whole to the iudgment of the most learned & *Leo* himself. Notwithstanding by the aduise of the B. of Scoli and Prieras his Iudges established by the Pope, he had bene cited to Rome, & from thẽce the cause sent back to *Caietan*, whom as suspected he might well haue refused, yet for all that he rendred all obedience, but seeing himselfe still pressed to recant, threatned with great paines, yea and ready to haue had worse, greeued with such preiudicies, hee appealed from an ill informed Pope to a Pope better councelled. The decree of *Clement* which hee so vrged, is in the extrauagants of the Cannon, where speaking of the benefite of Christ, he saith that one droppe of his bloud was sufficient to haue redeemed mankinde, but so much being shedde as nothing whole and entyre rested behinde, it was lefte for a great treasure to the vse of the Church, commaunding *Peter* and his successors to distribute the same as good Stewardes, to such as should be truely repentant, and confesse their sinnes, in pardoning them such temporall paines as were due vnto their sinnes, adding thereunto the merittes of the Virgin and other Saintes, so as this treasure could not be drawen drye. Now as hee founded the vertue of pardons vpon this decree, *Luther* on the other side maintained that there was nothing committed to Saint *Peter* and his successors but the Keyes and administration of the word, by which Christ would that in a full affiance in him they should pronounce remission of sinnes to the beleeuers: and if that the decree did agree with so true a sence of the Scripture it was then good, if otherwise, falle: besides that the merittes of Saintes were cleane repugnant to the word, for what men soeuer they be, they doe neuer more then they ought, nay they neuer come neere their dutie, and therefore not saued but by the meere mercie of God. As touching that councel which approued the soueraintye of Popes to be aboue coũcels, see what it is in the 4. & 5. session of the councell of *Constance*, as in sundry other, it was ordained that the Pope should obey the ordinances of the councell, and ratified in the 3. and 8. session of that of Basle, but *Eugene* 4. not willing to be present at that of Basle, as much as he was thither cited, declaring it of no force, assigned another at Ferrara 1438. from Ferrara they went to Florence, where the Popes soueraigntye was established aboue the Church and all Christians, whereas *Luther* referred himselfe to the Vniuersitie of Paris, it was for that *Gerson* a Doctor in Diuinity, much renowned at Paris, hauing bene at the councell of *Constance*, sent thether among others by the vniuersitie, and hauing greatlye allowed that decree by which the Pope was made in

Luther apealeth from Caietan.

The foundation of pardons and Indulgences.

ſubiection, he therin was followed by them of Paris, and a number of others, he died 1429. And before that *Luther* had euer put any thing in light, that Vniuerſitie had appealed from Pope *Leo* to a Councell, becauſe that he with *Fraunceis* the firſt had aboliſhed *La Pragmatique Sanction*, verye profitable for Schollers, to whome it opened the doore of offices, charges and honors throughout the whole Realme.

Luther eager againſt the Court of Rome.

Now as ſince vpon *Leo* his ſending to *Frederic*, *Charles Miltit* a Germane his groom of his Chamber, with letters to ſundry other to cauſe them to abandon *Luther*, and *Miltit* ſeeing of him more ſupported, had found ſundrye meanes to appeaſe him, and reconcile himſelfe to *Leo*, had not the diſputation of *Eccius* at Lipſe againſt *Luther*, which hee grounded vpon the difference of the Popes ſupremacie, cleane daſhed all theſe hopes: for *Luther* not able to leaue his eagerneſſe againſt the Courte of Rome, proffered greater iniuries then euer, tearming it more wicked and corrupt then Babilon or Sodome, that ſhe was the ſincke of impiety, to wich nought could be added, and that Antechriſt put therto his helping hand: ſaying that he greatly greeued that *Leo* did remain among them like a Lambe among wolues. S. *Bernard*, quoth he, lamented the eſtate of Pope *Eugene*, when as Rome was leſſe filthye: but now that ſhe is the receate and bottomles gulfe of all villanies, there is much more reaſon to bewaile her: further he beſought by letters the new Emperour *Charles* the fift, as a puiſſance eſtabliſhed by God, to render iuſtice, and to ſupporte the weake againſt the iniurie of the more mighty, that he would protect him, conſidering that he wrote nothing but by conſtraint of his aduerſaries, and what was approued by the beſt men of knowledge in all Germany: ioyned withall that he offred to recant, if his errors might be proued: he profeſſed as much before the Electors, the B. of Magdebourg and others. In ſumme all the Princes lightly regarded it ſaue *Frederic*, who in the ende flatlye refuſed to ſend him to Rome, and leſſe to puniſh him. Now *Frederic* ſtanding in much awe of the Pope, and yet carying ſome affection to *Luther*, for that he ſaw him ſo much profite his Subiectes and other of his Vniuerſitie, was very deſirous that this difference might haue bene paſſed ouer with meekenes, without diſpleaſing the one ſide or the other: but being ſollicited on both partes, in the end hee reſolued to behaue himſelfe according to the aduiſe of the moſt ſufficienteſt perſonages of all his Countrie: therefore not attributing ſo great authoritie to himſelfe, as to be able alone to iudge of this doctrine, hee demaunded the opinion of ſundry aged and learned men: yea oft of ſuch Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen as were of his acquaintance: Among other hee would needs heare *Eraſmus* ſpeake at a Diette which the Emperour *Charles* the fift helde in the Cittie of Cologne, after his coronation: cauſing him then to come vnto him, hee declared amiably, that amidſt all theſe debates, hee had rather the earth ſhould open and ſwallowe him vp quicke, then cleaue to any falſe opinions, or fauour them the leaſt that might be, againſt the generall approued doctrine: but that if *Luther* iuſtly taxed the errors, and ſet forth the ſpringes of a more pure doctrine, he would neuer contrary the truth, what euil ſoeuer ſhould befall him or his, as hee foreſawe it, that hee would not too much ſtick to his own aduiſe, but deſired to vnderſtand the minde of the more learned, coniuring *Eraſmus* freelye to deliuer vnto him his opinion. Who beginning his ſpeech with a kinde of ſmyling, ſaying that *Luther* had committed two great faults: firſt in touching the bellye of the Monkes, next the crowne of the Pope, then comming to the matter, confeſſed that *Luther* had great cauſe to taxe certaine errors, conſidering that faults in the Church, encreaſing by as naturall a corruption as diſeaſes did in mans bodye, reformation then was, and all times had beene neceſſarye in the Church,

Eraſmus his opinion of Luther.

but

but that it ought to be handled with discretion, without disforming the Church, no more then mans bodie, to restore it to health. He added likewise that the summarye of *Luthers* doctrine was true, but that hee could haue wished a greater temperance and modesty in the proceeding thereof: *Laurence* Bishop of Virtzbourge, wrote the very same to th'elector *Frederic*, affirming he had taken the opinion of many learned men therin, so as *Frederic* perswaded by the authoritie of such and like personages of valew, made afterwards no difficultie in maintayning *Luther* against the Churchmen. About the sixt of Iulye 1520. Pope *Leo* hauing called together the Senate, the Colledge of Cardinalles, and a number of learned men as hee affirmed in his Letters to *Frederic*, sent euery where his Bull out, in which after alleadging certaine textes of Scripture fit for his purpose, I pray Christ, saith hee, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, and all the hee and she Saintes of Paradise, to turne away such danger from the Church, as *Luthers* writinges might bring, afterwardes reciting certaine articles drawne out of his doctrine, hee reproued them, commaunding all Magistrates and other to shunne it, vnder a paine set downe to euery one according to his qualitie, as a thing repugnant to Christian charitie, and to the reuerence which all men ought to beare towards the Sea of Rome: further willing that such books of *Luther* as contained like doctrine, should be publiquely burned: commaunding him to meddle no more with teaching; to whome he gaue threescore dayes to reforme himselfe, abolish his bookes, and publiquely recant his doctrine, otherwise hee abandoned him as an Heretique and excommunicate person, and willed hee should be punished according to the lawes: forbidding all men to haunt him, comprehending vnder the same lawe all such as should doe the contrarye. But he standing aduertised of his condemnation at Rome, repealed his appeale the seuenteenth of Nouember 1520. and more crossely then euer maintained the Pope to persist in his tiranny and impietie: as being so farre out of the way, as to haue condemned him, without calling him, hearing him or conuicting him of any errour; his appeale grounded vpon many points: First, for that without hauing heard the matter, and without being conuicted, hee condemned him at his pleasure. Secondly, that hee commaunded him to reiect all faith necessary to the Sacraments. Thirdly, that hee preferred his owne opinions and rauinges before the Scriptures, and that hee referred nothing to any councell, which hee offred to approue whensoeuer it pleased his superiours. Then hee besought the Emperour and the rest of the Magistrates, that for the honor of God and defence of a Councels libertye, they would receaue his appeale, that they would bridle the tirannie of the Pope, that they would not account his Bul any manner of way able to touch thē, and that they would innouate nothing, vntill the cause might be worthely pleaded: for all this notwithstanding the Pope vrged *Frederic* to burn all his Books, and that he should either cut of his head, or making him Prisonner deliuer him vp to be punnished in example. *Frederic* praied him not to proceede so eagerlye, but to choose good and skilfull Personages, to confer of the whole matter amyablye to giue sure safe-conduct to *Luther*, and that his bookes might not bee burned before hee had defended his cause, then if he were conuicted by sure testimonies of the scripture, he would not approue his enterprise, albeit that alreadye hee consented not to his doctrine, and though he should not be able to maintain his fact, yet hee hoped the Pope would not require at his hands a matter which he could not performe: for the rest he hoped (by Gods assistance) to fulfill the office of a Prince of th'empire and of an obedient Sonne to the Church.

Luther condemned by Pope Leo.

Luther appealed against from the Pope.

To which the deputies of *Leo* hauing in vaine replyed, the end of the conference was that neceſſity preſſed them to do according to the contents of the Popes Bull, wherfore anon after they burned *Luthers* bookes: then began he much more eagerlye to goe to worke, for being aduertiſed of all this paſſed, hee aſſembled together all his ſchollers of Witemberge, and in the preſence of many learned perſonages, hee publiquely burned the Cannon law, togither with the Popes new Bull, the 10. of December. Afterwards to render reaſon of his exploite he alleadged theſe: Firſt, that it was an ancient cuſtome to fling corrupt bookes into the fire, as it is ſeen in the Acts of the Apoſtles: beſides, it is his part which is baptized into Chriſt, which is a profeſſor and publique teacher of the Scriptures, to combat againſt falſe doctrine, and propoſe that which is wholſome for mankinde; as touching the Pope and his ſequel, they are ſo miſerable and accurſed, that they doe not onely withſtand the holy ordinances, but condemne the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, to make their owne ſhine for the brighter: from thēceforth he imploied himſelfe euer after to write againſt the exceſſiue abuſes and miſchiefes, which hee ſaid was in the Court and doctrine of Rome, as others on the other ſide very bitterly maintained the contrary, each with many iniuries and reciprocall inuectiues far vnworthy of Chriſtians. So as a certaine deſire of honor, ſtirred vp by a dutie to the explaining, according to his charge of the holye ſcripture, made him become ſo reſolute and ſtubborne, by the peeuiſh thwarts of his aduerſaries, that then he became open bankerout to the catholicke and romain doctrine, ſo as hauing bene ſummoned to the Diet of Wormes, whither he had the Emperours ſafe-conduct, to render an account of his faith, there to be puniſhed or iuſtified according as he ſhould maintaine; he ſaid frankely the 18. of April 1521. that he would not recant one inch, except lawfully they made the contrary to appeare vnto him, being the cauſe that the Emperour on the next morrowe ſent his letters to the aſſemblye of Princes, in which hee contained that his anceſtors who had made profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, had euer obeyed the Church of Rome: now ſince *Luther* oppugned the ſame, his dutye was to followe the ſteppes of his Predeceſſors, and to defende Chriſtian Religion, in ſuccouring the Church of Rome: wherefore hee determined to baniſhe *Luther* and his Adherents, and vſe other remedies fit for the quenching of this fire: but becauſe of his faith, which he had plighted, hee would ſend him home ſafe. The 24. of Aprill the Archbiſhop of Treuues, and other of the Lords called him to them, where after hauing wiſhed him to recant, or at the leaſt ſubmit his writinges to the iudgement of the Emperour, and of the councell of the Princes and generall councell to come: hee would not in any caſe but that all ſhould be reſolued by the authoritie of the holy ſcripture, which *Eccius* the Lawyer and others ſaide was not reaſonable, conſidering the diuers ſence of Scripture, which euery man interpreteth after his owne fanſie: and that further, by this meanes ſhould neuer any thing be ſure or clearely determined, that it was not to be ſuffered that euery man ſhould aske a reaſon of euery point, as of a matter impoſſible in nature. Breefe, that ſince it was not a thing reaſonable, to diſpute a matter alreadye reſolued or condemned by the Church, men ought ſimply and abſolutely to holde that doctrine which their good Fathers had left vnto them. In ſumme *Charles* the 5. of the age of one & twenty yeares, baniſhed him the eight of May 1521. by his Letters Pattentes, by which conſidering it was his duetye to take order that no filthe ſhould enter into the Empire, by the example of his Predeceſſors, hee aſſembled all the Princes and States of the Empire at Wormes, where hee communycated the matter of *Luther*, and diligentlye examyned it.

Luther publiquely burneth the cannon law and Popes Bull,

Luther baniſhed by Charls his letters patents at Wormes.

Now

Now albeit the lawes forbid to heare a manifest heretique, so many times condemned and seperated from the communion of the Church, yet to stop the passage to all calumnie, he sent him a letter and dispatched his Herald with safe conduct, to cause him to come vnto him and render account of his writings: afterwardes hauing recited the propositions, desseines, *Luthers* answeres and all that had passed at Wormes, he said that in case *Luther* did still defend his errors, and wilfully persseuere in them, he approued the Popes bul, and to witnes that he would maintain it, he condemned and banished *Luther* as an author of schism, and an obstinate heretique, commanding al men to hold him for such: and after 21. daies which he gaue him of fauour to recleim himself he charged euery man with all force to endeuour to take him and deliuer him vp into his hands: he banished also all such as any manner of way whatsoeuer fauoured him, enioyning his bookes to be vtterly abolished, with great paines from thence forward for any booke-binders that should sell any of them, and ordained that his decree made in the councell of the Princes and all the estates should remaine for euer inuiolable.

Luther then much spiting at his hauing beene thus condemned, and his bookes burnt by the Deuines of Cologne and Louaine, after 1521. by those of Paris, was at Rome giuen vp to the Diuell, the 28. of March 1521. by the Pope, togither with all heretiques, Pyrates, Imposers of new tributes, falsefiers of Buls, Marchants furnishing the enemies of the faith with weapons, or other thinges forbidden, Massacrers, possessors by violence, & other which they are accustomed to condemn & curse the Maundy Thursday before Easter, in the Bull which they call *In coena Domini*: Afterwards banished by the Emperour in a generall assemblie of the Princes of th'empire: you may not doubt if he were then put into a heate to skirmish more eagerly then euer he did, so as that being published throughout, and otherwise pricked forward by the threates and outragious speeches of Cardinall *S. Xiste* and other his aduersaries, and besides seeing himselfe supported as wel by *Frederic* Duke of Saxe his Mecenas, as many other Lords, gentlemen, and great personages, attempted (a matter which neuer before he durst so much as haue dreamed of) cleane to abolish the Masse by his writings which he published, to that end at Witemberg. First with *Frederic* whom by little & little he gained as well by his own arguments, as by the authoritie of *Philip de Melanchthon*, a professor at Witemberge, *Iustus Ionas* and other to whom this Prince had giuen in charge, to examine the consequece of so notable a change, afterwards in many places of Germany, so as leauing that feare which had as it were before bound him fast with the chaines of modesty, he durst then make open warre against the Pope and all other that would maintaine his doctrine, by the same weapons themselues vsed, beginning to effectuate the Prophecie which he turned to himselfe, of *Iohn Hus* & *Hierosme* of *Prague*. The Bohemians to witnes the great displeasure which they conceaued at those mens deaths at Constance, caused peeces of mony to be coyned which they called *Husites*, about which were engrauen those words which he vttered at his departure. *After one hundred yeares ye shal answere God and me.* As if knowing they should liue no longer, he would haue said that the Iudges should thē come before the throne of God to render an accompt of their act. But *Luther* interpreting it to himself in his commentaries vpon *Daniel*, taketh it for a certain prophecie that *Iohn Hus* should be the fore-runner of his reformation, bringing in *Iohn Hus*, as if he should say, *they shall roast the Goose*, (for *Hus* is as much to say as a Goose, in the Bohemian tongue) *but they shall not roast the Swan which will come after me.* Indeede hee was burned 1414. and the differece moued by *Luther* vpon the pardons began 1517. Among the cheefest of his aduersaries,

The Masse first abolished in Germany.

Iohn Hus prophecieth of Luther.

aduersaries which openly declared themselues *Henry* 8. K. of England, presented him selfe, who aboue all the rest disalowed his iudgement vpon the Indulgences, defending the opinion and power of the Pope: thence he proceeded vtterly to condemne by a book dedicated to that end, all the disputation of the Sacraments of the church, taking his argument to write vpon the Captiuity of Babilon caused by *Luther*: who thereunto answered very bitterlye, not sticking to declare vnto him that hee made no account of the dignitie or magnificent apparance of any person. Pope *Leo* receaued hereat so great contentment, that he gaue vnto him the title of *Defendor of the faith*, and afterwards 1524. *Clement* 7. of Medices, sent vnto him a Rose of golde, which he had consecrated three moneths before Easter.

The Emperour visiterh in person the K. of England.

Hereupon the Emperour being embarqued to passe out of Germany into Spaine, where certain seditions were stirred vp, in his way visited the K. of England, to whom the better to assure himselfe of him against the K. of Fraunce, he promised the 13. of Iune 1522. at Windsor vpon the Thames beyond London, to pay annually one hundred thirtie and three thousand crownes, which the french yearlye did owe vnto the English. And for a greater alliance it was agreed that in time and place the Emperour should take in marriage *Mary*, daughter to K. *Henry* then of the age of seauen yeares, and that if this accord helde not, he should pay foure hundred thousand Crownes.

Images broken downe in Germanie.

Luthers doctrine in the meane season dispersed throughout Germany, profited in many places, so farre as his Disciples in their abundance not content to goe any more to the Masse, egged the people to the plucking downe of Images, and cheefely *Andre Carolastade*, for which act being misliked by the Vniuersitie of Witemberg, they cõdemned this attempt, shewing that it was not the way wherin they ought to proceed but before all to pull out the Images of the spirite, and to teach the people that onely through faith we please God, and that Images serued to no end, which being beaten downe in the spirite, and men well taught, the corporall Images would soone fall downe of themselues: not for any mislike they had to haue them cleane taken away, but that it ought to be done by the hand of the Magistrate: for it was not permitted to euery man to do according vnto his fancy. Shortly after 1523. 1524. *Zuinglius* did as much at Zurich in Suizerland, and many other Cantons in like time followed after. In summe that a man cannot tell how lightly, how secretly, and in what a short space this doctrine crept into the harts and braines of many thousands of Christians, especially then when euery one saw that *Leo* had not imployed any parte of the great masse of monie come of his pardons against the Turke, who in the meane time had ruyned Hungarie, attempted vpon Bohemia, taken Rhodes, and done a thousand mischiefes against the Christians, albeit that the Pope, the Emperour, the Ecclesiasticall Princes and others, had flung all the stones they could to the contrarye, euen causing the Edict and decree of Wormes to be obserued against *Luther* and his doctrine, the which was notwithstanding hindred as well by the reformed Princes and their partakers, as by the writings and ancient arguments of *Luther* and his companions, so as there is no maruell if the people, and aboue all the comminalty of townes, not finding their passions staied by any lawes or pollitique ordinances, licenced themselues to growe more wilfull in their impressions then euer.

Luther misliketh the breaking of Images by the people.

Leo 10. dieth, Adrian 6. succedeth.

Leo being departed, whose Father was *Laurence*, and *Cosme* his Grandfather, who had enobled and exalted the familie of Medices: *Adrian* the 6. of Vtrech in Holland, succeeded him 1521. as well in the dignitie, as hate and bitter pursuite against *Luther*: and the Churchmen seeing the protection which many Princes gained by little and little, thorough his doctrine, gaue to *Luther* least any should attempt against his person,

ſon, turning the effect of their hatred vpon his diſciplines, gaue a beginning to moſt cruell and continuall perſecutions of the euill affected towards the faith. Now as the ſeede of this reformation was taken out of the conuent of *Auguſtines*, ſo did they make ſeene the firſt treates of their bitter puniſhments vpon *Iohn* and *Henry*, *Auguſtine* Friers of Bruſſelles, who after many diſputations with *Iaques Hocſtrat*, the Inquiſitor a *Iacobin*, hauing bene depoſed of the prieſtly order, diſgraded of the leſſer orders, clad with laye and prophane habites, after deliuered vp to the ſecular Iuſtice, were burned aliue the firſt of Iuly 1523. Hereupon *Adrian* died the 13. of September 1523. to whome *Clement* of Medices 7. ſucceeded, vnder whome the doctrine of *Luther* began to creepe in amidſt the French: among whom albeit couertly and ſecretly the Lutheranes were ſoone enough ſuſpected and known: afterwards examined of their faith, were very often purſued by the Clergie, ſo as the French army being broken vp, and the King taken before Pauie by *Fernand Danal* Marquiſſe of Peſcaire, *Charles* of Bourbon, and *Charles De Launoy* Viceroy of Naples, 14. of Februarie 1525. who caried him priſoner into Spaine, his mother *Loyſe* regent in his abſence, deſiring in this ſo great an affliction, to entertaine the good fauour of Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially of the Pope, beſides the good affection and ſingular reuerence which by her letters ſhee proteſted to carrie towards the Church of Rome, demaunded at their hands ſuccour againſt ſuch an accident, and Councell how ſhee might ſtaie the courſe of hereſies, which were already hatched thorough out the whole Realme. Then *Clement* the ſeuenth beſides his priuate letters full of hope and comfort, ſignified from Rome the 20. of March 1525. to the Parliament of Paris, that he had vnderſtoode by letters from the regent, how thoſe wicked hereſies began to ſlide thorough the whole Realme; and whom by great prudence and good aduiſe, they had deputed certaine, to whom they gaue charge to ſee the puniſhment of ſuch as ſtroue to aboliſh the faith and auncient Religion: whom ſo deputed he confirmed by his owne authoritie. It is neceſſarie, ſaith he, that againſt this great and marualous diſorder, ſprong from the malice of Satan, and the rage and impietie of his ſupporters, the whole world ſhould bend their forces, to preſerue the common health: conſidering that this forcenerie woulde not onely confound and broyle Religion, but alſo, all principalitie, Nobility, lawes, orders and degrees. For his owne parte he would neither ſpare any diligence or labor, to remedie ſuch an inconuenience: that they in like ſorte whoſe prudence and vertue hath euery where beene highly renowned, ought to employ themſelues to the preſeruing of the true and right faith: And moreouer, that to the end the weale of their Realme, and dignitie of their eſtate ſhould be exempt, from the perill and domeſticall miſteries which this pernitious and peſtilent hereſie ſowed round about, they needed not to bee pricked forwards, conſidering how great teſtimonie of their prudence they had already yeelded; yet to make his dutie appeare, and ſhew the good will which he bore vnto them he would doe no leſſe then adde this. For that which they hetherto had done, was moſt agreeable vnto him, and was the cauſe why he exhorted them, from thence forth to keep good watch againſt ſo miſchieuous a plague of hereticques, for the honour of God and ſafetie of the Realme. In ſome hee aſſured them that this their diligence ſhould bee greatly acceptable to God and worthy of much praiſe before men, that he in like ſorte would ſet to his helping hand, and giue vnto them aide and all poſsible fauour.

Adrian dieth, Clement 7 de Medices ſucceedeth.

Letters from the Pope to the Parliament of Paris

Vpon this then the Diuines of Paris, during the impriſonment of King *Francis* the firſt tormented greatly among other, *Iacques Le Feure* of Eſtaples, who hath left behinde him many bookes in Philoſophie, and Diuinitie. In ſort that hee was enforced

King Francis writeth in the behalfe of Iacques Faber

to retire out of Fraunce. The King aduertiſed hereof eſpecially by the recommendation of his ſiſter *Marguerite*, who greatly fauoured *Le Feure* for his vertue, ſent letters to the Parliament of Paris, in which he ſignified how hee had beene giuen to vnderſtand, that they had indited *Iacques De Feure*, and ſundry other of excellent knowledge before them at the purſute of the Diuines who deepely hated *Le Feure*, for euen before his departure out of France, ſome of that faculty had highly accuſed him before himſelfe, but wrongfully and without cauſe. That if it had beene ſo, ſaith he, he gaue charge to the greateſt perſonages and moſt notable in all erudition to canuiſſe out his bookes and writings wherewith he was charged, which they diligently executing, & euery thing thoroughly examined, a moſt ample and honorable teſtimonie was deliuered vnto him touching the ſaid *Feure*, conſidering then that the truth is ſuch as hee did afterwards vnderſtand: that he was highly eſteemed among the Italians and Spaniards for his doctrine and vertue; he would ſtand maruailouſly diſcontented, if they ſhould offer any iniurie, or put in any danger ſo innocent a perſon. And for that, at that inſtant he ment to haue iuſtice more rightly & rigorouſly adminiſtred throughout his Realme then before; as alſo for that he reſolued to ſhew all fauour and amitie towards learned men, to that end hee commaunded that if they had put any men of knowledge in queſtion ſince his departure, that it ſhould be ſuſpended by his mother the regent to the end he might be aduertiſed by her, and that they ſhould therein attend his intention and good pleaſure: In the meane time not to proceede any further: but ſurceaſe vntill his returne, which he hoped would be ſhortly by the grace of God, or vntill that he or his mother ſhould bee otherwiſe aduiſed. Theſe letters were diſpatched to goe from Madrila Cittie in Spaine the 12. of Nouember, and preſented vnto the Parliament of Paris the 28. of the ſame month.

League betweene the regent and Henrie the 8. King of England.

Loyſe ſhortly after ſeeing that ſhe was not able to winde the Emperour to ſuch an accord as ſhee deſired for the deliuerie of her ſonne, made alliance with *Henrie* the 8. King of England, about the end of Auguſt 1525. The firſt Article purported that they ſhould imploy them ſelues to the repelling of the Turkes ſtrength and courſes, together with the peſtiferous ſect of *Luther*, no leſſe dangerous then the Turkes. Now as the Emperour, perceiuing the King to grow verie ſicke in reſpect the protended accord could take no good effect, feared leaſt by the encreaſing of his ſickneſſe he might looſe thorough a ſuddain death, ſo certaine aduantages as preſented themſelues he went to ſee him at Madril, comforted him and put him in better hope then euer. In the end the 14. of Ianuarie 1526. the treatie was concluded. Among the Articles whereof, it was ſpecially ſet down that the Emperours and Kings principall end was to haue the enemies of the faith and hereſies of the Lutherans cleane rooted out: And that a peace being concluded between them, they ſhould ſettle the common wealth, and vndertake a warre againſt the Turkes, and heretiques excommunicate, and cut off from the communion of the Church. A matter aboue al moſt neceſſarie, and to which the Pope had often dealt and ſollicited them to become watchfull. To ſatisfie then his good pleaſure, they reſolued to beſeech him to commaunde Embaſſadours from all Kinges and Princes, to meete at a day in ſome certaine place, with generall charge and commiſſion, to aduiſe how they might well make a war againſt the Turke and defeate the heretiques enemies of the Church, that the Pope would permit euerie Prince according to cuſtome, to leauie money in his owne Countrie, for ſo holy and charitable a worke: and alſo ſuffer them to leauie ſome diſmes vpon the Cleargie. In ſomme the Princes prepared themſelues of all handes to feaſt well the Lutherans.

Peace concluded between the Emperor Charles and Francis ſ firſt

Their number increased notwithstanding from day to day: especially after the disputation at Berne, whether many of the Zuisser Cantons sent of their people to aunswere, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Blaurer* and other. The conclusion thereof was made the 25. of Ianuarie 1528, at such time as the Articles published by them were approued by the voice of the greater part, and put in practise by the authoritie of the Magistrate as well at Berne, as sundry other places adioyning: the Masse, Aulters and Images being cleane put downe. They of Constance had alreadie made a beginning vnder *Ambrose Blaurer*: But after this disputation they did as the Bernois, and they of Basle likewise in the beginning of Februarie 1529. Those of Geneue did in like sort, by reason whereof the Bishop and Cleargie standing terribly anangred, quitted the town 1528. Whether many French men persecuted for their conscience, beganne as then to retire. But in Germanie the *Lutherans* helde vp their heade, fearing nothing but the Emperour and some few other, against whose enterprises they began already to league them selues. Now whereas the Emperour had assigned a day at Spire, to resolue there of the matter of Religion, of the decree of Wormes, and warre against the Turke, it was agreed that they should attend a generall Councell: and that for the decree of Wormes euery man shoulde in the meane time so goueme himselfe in his Religion, without altering ought in any sort, as he might bee able to render a good account to God and the Emperour. Before this decree 1526, the Prince of Saxe and the Landgraue, called vnto thē the deputies of Strasbourgh, Noremberg, Ausbourgh, and others to whome they deliuered, that by reason they saw the Bishops and other Papistes machinate some thing against them, for cause of their Religion, it were good to practise some league and alliance, to the end that if any should be in perill for this profession, he might be succored of the rest: but there was nothing as then concluded, sauing that the deputies hauing receiued no charge thereto, demaunded a time to communicate thereof. Now as afterwards in March 1529 they repeated in the selfe same assemblie at Spire, what had beene concluded touching the decree of Wormes, and alleaged that many abused the same (for vnder colour of the decree, men defended and excused all horrible doctrines) it was ordained that such as vntill that time had obserued the Emperours Edict, should continue vntill a Councell, (whereof the Emperour gaue hope) and constraine the people to do the like, that they which had receiued other doctrine then they were able to quite, for feare of sedition, should take heed not to innouate any thing vntill then. And that their doctrine which traught other wise then the Church, touching the supper should not be receiued nor the Masse abolished, and where there should be any new fashion of doctrine, hindering such as woulde goe to Masse, whosoeuer did the contrarie should be proscribed. But the 19. of Aprill, 1529. the Prince of Saxe, *George* of Brandebourgh, *Ernest*, and *Francis* of Lunebourg, the Landgraue, he of Anhald opposed themselues to the decree, and in writing published the occasions of their opposition. Beseeching the rest of the Princes not to thinke amisse of that, if therein it agreed not iumpe with them: for as the former decree (said they) was established by a common accord, so could it not be broken without all did consent thereunto. One partie of the principall Citties hauing consulted together, ioyned themselues with this protestation of the Princes, to wit, Strasbourg, Noremberg, Vlme, Constance, Ruthelin, Vuinsseme, Merbinge, Lindaue, Campodun, Hailbrun, Isne, Vuisseburg, Norling, Saint Gal, to which many more after likewise ioyned. And for that they all protested to follow the first decree of Wormes and reiect the new, they were alwaies after called Protestants. Who after that made and published an act of their appeale, containing

Suissers reformed.

Geneue a first retreate to French Lutherans.

The decree of Spire permitted euerie mā to maintaine his Religion without alteration.

The beginning of the league of Smalcade among the Protestants.

Whence the name of Protestants first sprong.

taining by order a narration of all the matter in which they appealed from the day of Spire, and decree there made to the Emperour, and a lawfull generall councell to come; or a nationall of Germanie, and in effect to all Iudges of whom there was no cauſe of ſuſpition: and thereupon they diſpatched men to the Emperour, to beſeech him not to miſlike any thing therein, and in the meane time offred vnto him all obedience, ſeruice, and other duties which hee could deſire at their handes, the which I haue beene willing to deſcribe ſomewhat at large vnto you, becauſe there will oftentimes fall out ſpeech of theſe Proteſtants and their league, whereof the matter fel out thus.

I haue already deliuered vnto you how the Saxon and Landgraue had heere before at the ſame day of Spire, made entrance to a certain confederation and alliance, which was afterwards ſufficiently and diligently purſued, and as principallye a man aduiſeth himſelfe more vpon an occaſion then at any other time; in like manner after this decree they much more diligentlye bethought themſelues, ſo as they did ſome little matter at Noremberg, as a proiect which was ſince mightily increaſed. And in October the Deputies of theſe Princes and townes being at Schuabach, it was propoſed in the name of *Frederic* and *George* of Brandebourg, that ſince the defence of Religion was the very motiue and foundation of this alliance, it was aboue all things neceſſary that all their wils were of accorde therein: wherefore they recited a ſummarye of doctrine, which was approued of all, but they of Strasbourgh and Vlme ſaid, that in reſpect there had no mention at all bene made thereof in the precedent aſſemblie, it paſſed their charge to deale therein. The opinion of the Supper grew diuers, which was the onely hindrance thereof: the one holding the opinion of *Zuinglius*, that men tooke the body of Chriſt by faith: the other of *Luther*, that men eate it really: which being the cauſe that at that time they could not conclude of ought, they ordained an other aſſembly at Smalcade 13. of December. The Proteſtant deputies being brought into Plaiſance in Lombardie, to giue the Emperour to vnderſtand the reaſons of their appeale, had anſwere, that that was done for feare of nouelties, and to be meete as well with all kinde of ſectes to come; as ſuch as at this daye wandred throughout, and to eſtabliſh a peace in all Germanye, ſo as they ought not to make any difficultie for letting it paſſe; ioyned withall that the cuſtome did not carrye, that what was ratified by the greater parte of th'empire, ſhould be diſanulled by a few, which muſt needs cauſe him to write to the Duke of Saxe and his companions, commaunding them to conſent thereto, or elſe he would cauſe ſuch a puniſhment, as all ſhould take example thereby, which they of themſelues ought to haue done, cõſidering how much the Turk at this day waſted Hungary: & albeit that they furniſhed all againſt the Infidels, yet except there were a mutuall conſent by a peace, and brotherly beneuolence among the eſtates, no thing could be brought about aduantagious againſt ſo puiſſant an enemye: the Deputies notwithſtanding gaue vp their appeale in writing, and in the end had leaue to departe, ſo as all being deliuered in councell, the 14. of October 1529. the Princes and others aſſembled towardes the end of Nouember at Smalcade, where the difference of Religion hindering as yet any reſolution, they departed vnder condition, that whoſoeuer would in each point conſent to this doctrine and receiue it, ſhould meet at Noremberg the ſixt of Ianuary 1530. there to deliberate of what were to be done. Now they concluded nothing but to tarry vntill the day which the Emperour ſhould publiſh in the Spring, which was at Ausbourg, the 8. of April 1530. *Charles* the fift elected Emperour in Iune 1519. at Francforde vpon the Rhyne, (notwithſtanding the contrarye purſuites of the

The opinion of the Supper being diuers among the reformed, is cauſe of great inconueniences,

the French for their Prince) after the death of *Maximilian* the 12. of Ianuary, and sa-
cred at Aix in the end of October, was crowned at Bologne le Grasse the 24. of Fe-
bruary, by *Clement*. And whereas vpon the 20. of Iune, when the day assigned by him
at Ausbourg where he made his entry began, he commaunded the Duke of Saxe to
carry the Sword before him going to the Masse, (according to the office of Marshall
to the Empire, Hereditarie to the house of Saxe) the Elector would first take the ad-
uise of his Doctors, who perswaded him that it was lawfull, considering that he went
thither to execute his office, and not to heare the Masse: he was there then onely ac-
companied by *George* of Brandebourgh. After many affaires proposed and debated,
in the end he caused to be published this decree for religion, that hauing reiected the
confession of the Protestants faith, hee ordained in summe that nothing should be
changed in matters concerning faith and diuine seruice, that whosoeuer should doe
the contrary, should be punishable both in body & goods, that reparation should be
made of all the iniuries which had beene done to the Churchmen; and to the end
this decree should remaine inuiolable for religion, he assured that he would imploye
all the meanes which God had giuen him thereto, euen to the spending of his bloud
and life: yea it was forbidden that any should be able to pleade in the impery-
all chamber which astonished a great many: for the Emperour took good assurance
of all the rest for the execution thereof: whereupon the Protestants being assembled
the 22. of December 1530. at Smalcade, concluded a forme of alyance to succour
one another: to the which the Princes at that instant bound themselues, and with
them many other Lords and free Cities, thinking good to trye therein the King of
Denmarke, and Princes of Pomerania and Magdeburg, with all to write to the Kings
of Fraunce and England, to dissuade them from such false reportes, as their enemies
might make runne of them and their religion, which they accordingly did the *16.*
of February 1531. The Landgraue allied himselfe with them of Zurich, Basle, and
Strasbourg, in Nouember, vpon condition to succour one another for their religion;
but after the breaches betweene the fiue little Cantons and the rest (which passed in
certaine reencounters where the reformed had the worst) and the accord made be-
tweene them since that, in October 1531. was put this clause, that they of Zurich,
Berne, and Basle, should quit the allyance of the Landgraue, and Strasbourgh with
the fiue Cantons of K. *Ferdinandes*. Afterwards the 29. of March 1531. they met a-
gaine at Smalcade, where they receiued but slender answers from Denmark and Po-
meranye, they consulted of meanes how to haue succours ready at need, of men, mo-
nye, and munition, and for that they had had the opinion of learned men before they
confederated together, and that *Luther* had before taught and published in writing,
that it was not lawfull to resist the Magistrate, hee now changed his minde, for when
as their Lawyers did declare in this meeting that such a case might bee offred as the
Lawes permitted a man to resist; as they did in this, he said he was cleane ignorant of
that point, for that the Gospell did not impugne the lawes pollitick, but often times
confirme them: and because they sayd that such an accident might arise in which ne-
cessitie and duetie of conscience did put the sworde into their hands, he made a book
by which he admonished all men in generall not to obey the Magistrate, if he sought
to imploy them in such a warre, for they stoode well assured how that the Emperour
sollicited by the Pope and other, went about some mischeefe for them, vnder colour
of hauing a care for the common wealth of Germany: King *Francis* the first wrote
curteously back vnto them the 21. of April 1531. with offer of his helpe, so did the K.
of England the 3. of May. Now after the decree of Ausbourg the Emperour being
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The King of Fraunce and England, succour the Lutherans.

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tho ugh chaſed out of Florence, he was after drowned at the mouth of Gariglan, leauing for his heire *Laurence* of Medices, whome Pope *Leo* and *Frauncis* the firſt married to Madame *Magdalaine* of the houſe of Bologne in Auuergne, predeceſſors to the Q. Mother, who in ſteade of the Countie of Bologne, enioyed the County of Lauraguez in Lãguedoc; for ſo much as *Lewis* 11. would needs haue the County of Bologne in exchange for Lauraguez at the hands of Bertrande Earle of Auuergne, great Grandfather to the ſaide Queen. See now the race on the mother ſide, deriued from *Robert* the laſt of that name, Earle of Bologne and Auuergne, (whoſe anceſtors helde ranke about the Kings before the Conſtables, Chancelors, great Chamberlaynes, or other officers of the crowne) who left *Guillaume* and *Iohn* his heires: the firſte had onely *Iodhe* maried to *Philip* Duke of Burgundie, and in her ſecond marriage to *Iohn* K. of Fraunce, to whome by will deceaſing without iſſue, ſhe lefte the Duchie of Burgundie. And ſo the Counties of Bologne and Auuergne came to *Iohn* her Vnckle, who had *Iohn* which married *Eleonor* of Comminges, of whom he had *Ioane*, whom ſhe brought to the Caſtle of Ortais to *Gaſton de Foix* her Coſin, brother in lawe to *Charles* the firſt K. of Nauarre, and left her there, fearing leaſt the Earle of Armignac who had taken from her the Earledome of Comminges ſhould take her to wife, to the end he might make himſelfe a peaceable Lord: and went her ſelfe to abide with her Vnckle the Earle of Durgel in Arragon; but her daughter was married vnto *Iohn* Duke of Berrie, widower of *Ioane* of Armignac, dying notwithſtanding without iſſue, ſucceeded vnto her in the Counties of Bologne & Auuergne, *Mary* of Bologne her Coſin germane, who was married to the Lord de la Tour, and of Montgaſcon father to *Bertrant de la Tour*, and *Gabrielle* wife of *Lewis de Bourbon*, firſt Earle of Montpenſier, great Grandfather to the Duke liuing. Afterwards came *Magdalaine* wife to *Laurence* of Medices, anceſtors to *Catherine* of Medices, Q. Mother to the K. liuing at this preſent day.

The Q. Mother deſcended out of the houſe of Bologne by the mother ſide.

About this time the Landgraue being come into Fraunce 1533. got of the K. a maſſe of mony, to cõtinue the amitie which he carried vnto the Princes of Germany, vpon the morgage of the County of Montbelliard, in the name of *Vlrich* D. of Witemberge his Coſin, by the league of *Suaube* expelled his Duchie, (giuen by the ſame League to the Emperour, who ſince gaue it to *Ferdinand* in partage) vpon condition that if he were not repaied within three yeares, the County ſhould remain vnto him; he had beſides other monie of his liberalitie, and with that hee leuied men and recouered the Countrie, and placed againſt his Coſin in May 1534. Afterwards paide the firſt monye back, gratified with an ouerplus: vpon this *Clement* 7. who at the marriage of his Niece to pleaſure the K. had made Cardinals *Odet de Chaſtillon*, *Philip de Bologne*, *Claude de Guiry*, and *Iohn le Venier* B. of Liſeux, hauing runne ſundry fortunes died in the end of September 1534. *Paul Ferneze* ſucceeding him, who preſently made Cardinalles *Alexander* ſonne to *Pierre Louis* his baſe ſonne, and *Aſcanio*, ſonne of *Catherine* his baſe daughter.

K. Frauncis aideth the Proteſtants.

Pope Clemẽt dieth, Paul Ferneze ſucceedeth.

As the doctrin of *Luther* profited in Germany, Flanders, England, Italy, & cuntries adioyning, Fraunce felt it no leſſe, rather it ſeemed to increaſe by the greatnes of perſecutions, which might be ſeene, by the hotte perſecutions in the yeare 1534. for ſearches and informations were no ſooner made of the priſonners, but they were as ſpeedily burned quicke, tyed to a ſtake, after ſwinged into the ayre, were let fall into the fire, and ſo by a pulliſe pulled vp and downe, vntill a man might ſee them all roaſted and ſcorched by a ſmall fire, without complayning, not able to ſpeak, by reaſon

Perſecutions in Fraunce.

that

that they had taken out their tongue, and gagged: Afterwards the K. to the ende that might not be a meanes of diminishing of the Princes of the Empire their amitye towards him, and to turne away the wrath of God which hee feared would fall vpon his Realme, for the opinion of these people made a solemne and generall procession to be made at Paris, where the relique of Saint *Genewiese* patrones of the Parisians descended, which happeneth but rarely. In the meane time hee excused himselfe towards the Protestant Princes by his Embassadour, assuring them that he made them to be punished for their sedition, not for their faith; to conferre whereof hee prayed them to send some of their diuines to meete with his, for as hee saide Pope *Leo* had himselfe heretofore tolde him, that he must needes acknowledge many light ceremonies and humane traditions, which were fit to be changed in time: afterwards *Guillaume du Bellay* called *de Langeay*, his Embassadour about them, being assembled 1535. at Smalcade, seeing that he could not conclude a generall alliance with them, (for they euer excepted the Empire and the Emperour) returned without doing ought, after hauing exhorted them in the Kings name, not to receiue *Mantoue* for the place of Councell which the Pope promised, nor any other place without aduise of the K. of Fraunce and England, who would doe nothing the one without the other. *Louis* 12. K. of Fraunce said, he by his Embassador in time past, maintained that it did not appertain to Pope *Iuly* to publish a counceil, without consent of the Emperor and christian Princes, and because the K. of Nauarre was of the same opinion, *Iuly* excommunicated him, and vnder this title *Ferdinande* K. of Spaine seased of the Kingdome of Nauarre: the K. of Fraunce is at this present of the same opinion, that he can alow of no councell but in a sure place, not suspitious, where it may be lawfull for euery man to deliuer his minde. *Edward Foxe* B. of Hereford, Embassador for the K. of England, spake much more affectionately, and shewed that his maister greatly affected the same doctrine, which he had already in a great part established within his Realme, for which the protestant Princes humbly thanked the, praying that they would no more suffer such as were of like faith as they, to be persecuted. After the 12. of December 1535. by a decree made at Smalcade on Christmas euen, they renewed for ten yeares their alliance which expired at the end of that yeare, and deliberating among the rest of prouision and munitions, it was there concluded, that they would all receiue the confession of Ausbourgh, and be content to runne the same race: among other there were the Princes of Pomerany, *Vlrich* of Witemberg, *Robert* of Bauiere, he of Deuxponts, the Cities of Ausbourg, Franckeforde, Campodum, Hambourg, and Hanobry, with many more, who ioyned themselues at Franckford in April 1536. and after *Guillaume de Nassow*, and albeit that the Landgraue did not accord with them there, in respect of their claim which was made to the signory of Hesse, yet he promised that if there should be any outrage for the profession of the Gospel, he would not abandon them whatsoeuer ensued theron. In the end of March 1538. *Christian* K. of Denmarck and *Iohn* Marquesse of Brandebourg, brother to the Elector, were both receued therein. Now for so much as *Helde* who had bene sent from the Emperour to the Germane Princes, to bring them to agree to such a Councell as the Pope had assigned, and therein to resolue vpon all their differentes in religion, &c. could gaine nothing, charging them euery way, if they refused so reasonable conditions of Peace, hee framed a League, of which he saide the Emperor & King *Ferdinande* were the authors, the associates to be the Archbishops of Mayence, and of Salisbourg, *Guillaume* & *Louis* of Bauiere, *George* of Saxe, *Eric* & *Henry* of Brunswich, that it was cõcluded vpon at Noremberg, vpon cõdition that if any were troubled for the ancient religion, succour,

The Pope hath no authoritie to assigne a councell.

cour should be ready at hand, and to endure for 12 years vnder the name of the holy League, as made for the glory of God, and defence of the Church. Afterwards 1539. the 19. of Aprill at Francforte, the peace of Germany was accorded vpon such conditions: the Emperour graunteth to the confederates of the confession of Ausbourg which are at this present, that hee will holde a Colloquie of learned men within 15. moneths for the matter of Religion, that he will make an Edict, forbidding any to be disquieted for their conscience, that the accord of Norenberg and imperiall Edict of Ratisbone, shall remaine in full force, if within 15. moneths Religion were not fullye accorded, this peace should holde vntill the first assembly of the Empire, that if a Diette should happen before these 15. moneths were expired, then this peace shall take place vntill the next: the Protestants should in like sorte doe their duty and remaine in peace.

To continue the paines and pursutes against the Lutheranes in Fraunce, after that *Fraunçis* the first had ordained the like paine to the concealer as to the Lutherain, and the (4) fourth part of his goods which was accused, to the informer, at Paris the 19. of January 1534. for that it was reported vnto him, that with the encrease of their paines encreased the number of Lutheranes, to dispatch the cognisance and iudgement of them retarded often through the differente between the royall Iudges and the ecclesiasticall, he gaue all to the royall at first instance indifferentlye, and concurring with the soueraign Courtes, and without attending any degrees of appellations, as well against the Layery as Cleargy, not hauing sacred orders, noble, well and free borne, or not, to the end with speede to certifie the whole vp to the criminall chamber of Parlament, yea punishing of Iudges and inferior officers, by deprivation of their estates, fines or otherwise, as they saw them not to haue diligently or faithfully enough proceeded, to the accomplishment of their proces, in ordayning as much to the Prouostes and other Iudges, immediatly resorting to Soueraigne Courtes, that they should sende the enditement with the offendor, to the Bailifs, Seneschales, or their Lieuetenants, which should certifie them to the Parlament as aboue said. And to all temporall subiects, and high Iusticers, to make diligent inquirie of the Lutheranes, to lende a strong hand, and all fauour to his Iudges, or to certifie vnto them such full proceedings, as they should finde against them as aboue saide: willing that in case of negligence or other fault, his Proctor generall should take the cõclusions, to the commitment or depriuation of the Iustices, and other paines as reason ledde them, and to all other secular and ecclesiasticall subiects, vpon paine of incurring high treason, enioyning both his generall and perticular, Proctors and Aduocates, to aduertise him what they should doe from sixe moneths to six moneths, vpon paine of suspending of their estates for the first crime, and depriuation for the second, with condign recompence if they perfourmed their dutie, towardes the rooting out of such and like heresies: not meaning thereby that the Prelates, Clergie, their officials, Vicars, and inquisitors of the faith should cease, to informe and proceed against their owne subiectes and iusticiables, hauing sacred orders, subiect to degradation, being culpable of the sectes and heresies vpon the common faulte, but exhorted them to doe it, and to their iusticers gaue all aide and fauour. At Fountanebleau the first of Iune 1542. Afterwards from Lyons the 30. of August, hee commaunded his Parlament of Paris to search out and punishe the assemblye of Lutheranes, in their resortes, and gaue like charge to them of the Church to doe the like: who from foure moneths to foure moneths were to certifie the Parlament, of their diligence in this behalfe.

(4) According to the Romaine Emperours, who named the Informers quadruplatores.

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In Ianuary 1540. there was a day aſsigned by the Emperour at Ratisbone for a peace to be concluded throughout Germany, and a vnion of faith, and in the meane time was a colloquie at Wormes, to prepare the accorde, but being broken by the Emperours Letters, the whole was referred to Ratisbone, in Aprill whether the Emperour came in perſon, in whoſe name his dutie towardes the Common wealth, hauing beene propoſed, and certaine Diuines choſen on the one ſide and the other, for to conferre with the Preſidents, witneſſes and Notaires the 27. of Aprill, *Granuelle* offred vnto them all a booke in written hand, which he ſaid had beene preſented vnto the Emperour, by certaine well affected and learned men, as a matter proper to make both parties accorde, containing the principall points of the doctrine: wherfore the Emperour was willing, to the end they might haue a lawfull argument, and good entrance to the matter, that both parties ſhould examine it together: approuing and reprouing as beſt ſeemed good vnto them: it was in ſome corrected, and certaine articles approued, other not: ſo as contrary to the Catholique Princes minds, and to *Conteran* the Popes Embaſſador, (who ſaide they would not change ought of the Religion already receaued, that the matter of religion ought not to bee determined but by a Councell, and the whole ſhould be ſent backe to the Pope, who for that end had promiſed one) the Emperour made a decree the 28. of Iuly 1541. by which hee put ouer the colloquie of the learned men, and all the affayres to a Councell, and for defaulte thereof, becauſe an opinion was helde that the Pope would ſhun it by many delayes, to an aſſemblye of all Germany, or the eſtates of the whole Empire, hee promiſed to ſollicite the Pope for a Councell, and in defaulte of a generall or prouinciall, hee would ordaine a day imperiall within 18 moneths, to accord Religion, and that the Pope ſhould ſend thither his Embaſſadour, commaunding the Proteſtants not to innouate ought from the accorded articles, which ſhould ſtand in force vntill then, and further ſuſpend the decree of Ausbourge, enioyning the clergie to reforme their life, their abuſes, and Churches after all, one ſide and the other promiſed ſuccours againſt the Turke, which was come downe into Hungarie & Auſtria, and had ſeaſed vpon Bude, Hungarie, and Peſt, hauing defeated the army of *Ferdinande*, with great mortalitie of the Chriſtians, while that their Princes ſtood diſputing and quareling together, like people irreconciliable. This was alſo confirmed in a daye at Spire, in Iune 1544. And other daye was helde at Wormes in Aprill and May 1545. where the Emperour referring the matter of Religion to a Councell, (for the Pope had courſed him that he ſhould vndertake to decide the matter of religion by a conference of Laye men, appertaining onely to him) would meddle only in taking order againſt the Turke: the Proteſtants contrariwiſe ſaide, that they would contribute nothing towards it, and much leſſe goe themſelues, if they had not firſt an accord or an aſſured peace for Religion, by reaſon of which, their wiues, children, and ſubiects, might be tormented in their abſence: ſo as nothing being done, the Emperour ordained a Colloquie for Religion at Ratisbone among the beſt learned, in December 1546. where the Diſputers, witneſſes, and auditors, being choſen, the Saxon ſaide that he would not approue of the conditions of the colloquie, and reuoked his people, after the Landgraue and other of the Proteſtants did the like, promiſing to returne if the colloquie continued. Hereupon the councel of Trent, publiſhed the yere paſſed on the 15. of March, began in the end of the yeare 1546. The Pope hauing ſent thither as his Legats, *Iohn Maria de Monte*, *Marcel Seruin*, and *Reinold Pole* an Engliſhmā all Cardinals, *Iacques Mendoſe* came thither to excuſe the emperours abſence, vpon the teſtimony which he had often rēdred of his diligence in purchaſing of that aſſembly,

The Emperours Interim.

The Proteſtants oppoſe themſelues to the decree of the Emperour.

Councell of Trent.

and his dutie and obedience towards the holy Sea,and that which ſhould be ordayned. But more then the Monkes orations to the fathers,and publication of the Bul of the Popes great pardons, there was nothing done, becauſe the Fathers haſtned no whit thither,ſauing that the 7. of Ianuary where beſides the Cardinalles, were foure Archbiſhops,thirtie three Biſhops,two French,fiue Spaniards, one Illiric, the other Italians, thirtie fiue Monkes, and twelue not Monkes: as the number of Biſhoppes grewe ſomewhat greater the Councell began, and after they were all aſſembled in the great Temple,and that Maſſe was ſaide, the Legats read their Orations to the Fathers. Afterwards it was declared how that the Councell was helde for three cauſes: to roote out hereſies, reſtore the diſcipline of the Church, and recouer peace: vpon that they ſaid that the fault of the preſent calamitie ought to be imputed to the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate,conſidering that none did their dutie, nor diligent to labour in the fielde of the Lord, whence hereſies ſprung vp like thornes, and albeit that they were not of their owne parte the inuenters of any hereſies,yet they were to be charged for not well tylling of the Vineyard, they haue not ſowen the fielde, they haue not plucked vp the Darnell which began to ſpring vp, that they then ought to aduiſe,and euery man to examine his owne conſcience,and trye if he haue perfourmed his dutie: it is certaine that they were to be blamed,for that all the diſcipline of the Church had been ſo trodden vnder foot: the third euill is warre,which is a puniſhment ſent from God, in reſpect of careleſneſſe in religion and want of diſcipline: for Chriſtendome ſtandeth not onely inuaded by Turkes and ſtrangers, but alſo by ciuil and domeſticall armes: during that the Kings combate,or that they which are reuolted from the obedience of their Paſtors, doe ouerthrowe all order, and pyll the goods of the Church,they haue adminiſtred the occaſion to the euils, by their moſt wicked example of life through ambition and couetouſnes. God then is the iuſt Iudge, which afflicteth them by theſe meanes,and yet the paine is much more gentle then their deſerte. True it is that ſuch are happy as endure for righteouſnes ſake, which may not be applyed to thoſe which are worthye of more rude chaſtiſement, that euery one then acknowledge his ſinne, and endeuour to appeaſe the wrath of God: for if they doe not acknowledge that, there will neuer be any amendment, and for no end ſhall the Councell be helde,and in vaine ſhall the ayde of the holye Ghoſt bee called vpon, it is a ſingular benefite of God, to haue giuen vnto vs the meanes to begin a councell,after the Church deliuered from ſo long and greeuous a ſhipwrack,taking harbour, is no more nor leſſe reſtored,then was Hieruſalem after ſo long a captiuitye. *Eſdras*,*Nehemias*,and the other Captaines,being returned out of Iudea,earneſtly admoniſhed the people of Iſrael,to confeſſe their owne ſinnes and their Fathers,and to call vpon the diuine mercie, we ought to follow the like example. He found in that time ſcoffers, which ſought to hinder,and mocked the Iewes, which reedified the Cittie of Hieruſalem: we in our time haue no want of people, which vndertake the like, and in effect perfourme it: but we muſt march on hardly, in the aſſurance of Chriſt, whoſe commaundement is heere executed, and the buſines ſet in hand. But for ſo much they are heere as Iudges,they ought well to aduiſe, not to ſuffer themſelues to be ledde by their affections, but holde themſelues neate from the hatred of wrath and enmitie, not ordaining ought to pleaſe man in this world, nor accommodating themſelues to the eares or deſire of any perſon,but contrariwiſe yeeld all honor and glory to God alone: for all eſtates are ſtraied out of the right way,and there is none which doth good. God himſelfe and his Angels are the beholders of this aſſembly,and there is no thought of any the aſſiſtantes,which is hid

from

from him, that they ſhould then proceede roundly and ſoundly, and that the Biſhops which are ſent from Kinges and Princes ſhould ſo furniſhe their charges, that aboue all thinges they haue the reuerence and honor of God before their eyes, without reſpect of hatred or fauour: for conſidering the aſſembly is helde to eſtabliſh peace, they muſt caſt farre from them all contention and partialitye. The Oration finiſhed, the decree of the Synod was read by *Iohn Fonſeca* B. of Caſtrimare, a Spaniard, by which all Chriſtians were admoniſhed to amend their liues, feare God, often confeſſe themſelues, and often viſite the Monaſteries of Saintes, that they ſhould pray to God for a publique peace, that the Biſhops and other Prieſtes ſhould be attentiue to praiers, and ſay Maſſe at the leaſt euery Sunday, praying for the Pope, Emperour, and whole Chriſtendome: that they likewiſe exerciſe themſelues in faſting and doing of almes in the great Temple; that euery Thurſday in the weeke they ſay a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, and during the ſaying thereof, that all be attentiue to the Prieſt, eſpecially in time of the Sacrifice, and that they keepe themſelues from chatting; that the Biſhops liue ſoberly, taking away all ſuperfluitie of their tables, ſhunning all idle and light diſcourſe, that they accuſtome their people to like diſcipline, in ſorte that they ſhew themſelues honeſt in words, apparell, and whatſoeuer they ſhall doe. And for ſo much as the end of the Councell is to endeuour that the darkenes of errors and hereſies, which ſince a good while haue raigned vpon the earth, being chaſed away, the light of the truth may ſhine forth; all are admoniſhed, and eſpecially men of knowledge, carefully to aduiſe by what meanes this may be brought to paſſe, in deliuering of their opinions: that they followe the decree of the Councell of Toledo, and doe all thinges modeſtlye without cryes, nor be riotous or obſtinate, but pronounce all ſweetely and leaſurely. The other Seſion was the fourth of Februarye, where nothing was diſpatched nor reſolued, ſaue onelye that they confeſſed the Creede of the faith, and put ouer the other Seſion vntill the eight of Aprill, by reaſon of ſuch as were already on their way, whom they thought good to attend, to the end the authority of the decrees might be of greater waight.

Decree of the Councell of Trent.

During this Councell, *Luther* of the age of threeſcore and three yeares, ſicke of a diſeaſe in his ſtomacke, dyed the 18. of February 1546. at Illebe in the Countye of Mansfielde, whether he was gone to appeaſe certaine differents which were between the Counts for their liuings and inheritance, in forme of an amiable compounder and Arbitrator. And albeit they deſired they might bury him in their Countrye, yet the Elector of Saxe would needs haue him brought to Witemberg. He left of a Nunne which he married 1505. *Iohn*, *Martin*, and *Paul*, his children, which haue not followed any courſe, either for the diminiſhing or encreaſe of his reputation.

Martin Luther dieth 1546.

Hereupon to confirme the ſuſpitions which many had of a warre at hand for Religion in Germany, were ſeene the firſt effects in the holy League of the Imperialles, and that of the Proteſtants made and renewed at Smalcade as I haue declared vnto you.

Moreouer the Emperour being from day to day egged forward by the Pope and Catholick Princes, now diſcouering himſelf, writeth to the cities of Strasbourg, Noremberg, Ausbourg, and Vlme, to aduertiſe them of his entent, and drawe ſuccour from them, at the leaſt not to fauour the enemies of the common Countrie, and of Chriſtian Religion, giuing them to vnderſtand, after he had made them ſee what his dutie and affection was to the good of the common wealth of Germany, how this warre was not prepared againſt the Citties, but againſt certaine rebels, which had committed treaſon, who had confronted the authoritie of the Emperour, pilled the

The Emperour writeth to the townes for ſuccour.

goods of Princes and of the Church,and would in the end the townes too, if they were not bemet withall : that they ſhould then aduiſe themſelues well of their dutie,both towards him and the common countrie; who,and eſpecially Strasbourge, beſought him to leaue off this preparation of warre,and if the Princes had done him wronge,rather to order them by iuſtice,then by armes to ruine all Germany, conſidering that all differents betweene an Emperour and the Princes ought to be adiudged by the Empire. Now as the Landgraue,being called for by him, had in familiar ſpeeche at Ratisbone(where the continuance of the Colloquie was aſsigned) tolde him that his companions had beene aduertiſed from all partes,how he meant cleane to runne ouer thoſe of the confeſsion of Ausbourg,how he attended ſuccours from the K. of Fraunce,& how he had made truce for one yeare with the turk,by means of the French,and that this councell had beene begun by the Pope, to the end the decrees made againſt them might be put in execution, notwithſtanding that they had yeelded him ſuccour againſt the Turk and King of Fraunce,and that as wel at Spire as at Ratisbone he had aſſured thē of a firme peace,albeit they could not accord of religion,he anſwered that he neuer thought it, praying them not to beleeue ſuch reportes : that he had made peace with the French,it was all, and truce with the Turke to make poore Germany take ſo much more breath,to the end that during this truce they might make ready to ouerrunne the Turke,when it ſhould be extermined, conſidering cheefely that they aboue all, had ſo oftentimes lamented the miſery of Germanie : but that the councell helde to determine the matter of Religion as they had ſo often required. And after that the Landgraue had replied,that there could bee no good concluded for them, conſidering the Popè their mortall enemy commaunded there,and that euen the Monkes called againe there in doubt the articles accorded,that they were promiſed a free and ſure on in Germany,together with the reformation of the Imperiall chamber ſo bitter againſt them,and that hardlye they could ſend their Doctors,much leſſe come themſelues to Ratisbone as the Emperour deſired,for the reaſons which he alleadged,he retyred himſelfe into his Countrie, and anon after their Deputies at Wormes hauing intelligence of this communication, ſlunk away the 23. of Aprill,the 8.whereof the fathers cōcluded vpon certain points, but of the generall ſorte and leaſt controuerſied in the Church. In ſumme the holye league was ſet downe in writing, and after the 26. of Iune 1546. proclaimed, by which the Pope conſigned one hundred and *50000.* Crowns at Venice,ouer & aboue one hundred thouſand already giuen,and furniſhed twelue thouſand Italian Fantaſſins and *500.* Horſe,paide for ſixe monthes,permitting vnto the Emperour to take for that yeare the moitie of the reuenew of the churchmen in Spaine,and to ſel as much of the yearelye rents of the Monaſteries of Spaine, as amounted vnto fiue hundred thouſand Crownes, ſo as he employed them onely in this war : vpon condition that hee ſhould morgage as much of his own demaine, for which he ſhould make aſſurance,to the Popes good liking. Vpon this *Vlrich* of Witemberg, and the Citties of high Germanie were firſt in armes againſt the Emperour, after the Princes ioyned themſelues, the Elector Palatine ſtanding neutrall,praied them to ſubmit themſelues, and demaund pardon of the Emperour. They,the Emperour, and Pope, entreated the Zuizers to ſtand Neutrall. The Proteſtants ſought ſuccours of the K. of Fraunce and England. Now the Emperour ſought to hide his game,vntill his forces might be in readines,namely,the Italians which were to paſſe the Alpes,where the paſſages are eaſie to be kept, for there are but two to goe into Germany,from Trent to Enipont. To goe from thence into Bauiere where the Emperour was, ſtoode at the parting of the

The townes ſend anſwers.

Speach betweene the Emperour and Landgraue.

The holy league between Pope, Emperour, and other Princes.

the Mountaines, Ereberge, a forte almost impregnable, *Shartelin* a Protestant Captaine seased thereof, and had done as much as *Enipont*, had not the subiects of K. *Ferdinand* risen. So the Italians came vnder *Octauian Farneze* Cardinall, with many renowmed Captaines: *Cosme* of Medices ioyned therto 200. Horse of ordinance: *Hercules* Duke of *Ferarra* 100. vnder *Alphonse* his base brother: the 20. of Iuly the Emperour banished the Saxon and Landgraue by his letters Pattents, in which hee declared the reason at large, as periured persons, rebels, seditious, guiltie of treason, and disturbers of the publique tranquilitie, whome he determined to chastice according to their deserte, withall those that should take their parte. And the 12. of August the Protestants sent him letters of defiance, naming him but *Charles* pretending himselfe Emperour. Vpon this the Emperour sent the first of August the copie of their banishment to *Maurice*, who hauing talked very familiarly with the Emperour, went home, and thence to Prague towards *Ferdinande*. Now for that he was neer kinseman to the banished, in sorte that he might pretend some right to their goods, he commaunded him and his brother *Augustus* to sease thereon, otherwise it should be to the first occupier: in sorte that the right of consanguinitie and contracts should nothing at al serue his turne, ioyned withall that hee should be comprehended vnder the same paine, as hauing bene disobedient vnto him: and commaunded the Nobilitie, and people to fulfill his commandement.

The Emperors army against the Lutheranes.

The Emperor banisheth and condemneth the D. of Saxe.

Protestants defie the Emperour.

The Emperors deuice to draw Maurice against his Cosin Elector of Saxe.

The two armies being incamped before Ingolstat vpon the Danube, the Protestantes were the stronger in number of horse and artillerie, but the Emperour had more Fantassins, Lords, and Captaines of Marke. In summe, the Protestants lost there a faire occasion, to haue broken the Emperour, who yet had not his campe well entrenched, nor the succour of ten thousand Fantassins, and foure thousand Horse, which the Counte de Bure brought vnto him, they also lost the time at Nerlinge, so as the Emperour being seased of the places bordring of Danube, and hauing it so at his deuotion, as he could cause all sorte of victuall to be brought, pursued them then with great aduantage: for they ill husbanding the opportunities which presented themselues, and adding thereunto that they were two heads equall, and banded in their opinions, Schertelin first, afterwards other, retyred themselues from them. *Maurice* in the meane time had praied his Cosin the D. of Saxe by his Father in lawe the Landgraue, to take in good parte that he seased of his liuing, but perceiuing himselfe refused, ioyned with *Ferdinande*, who to enforce the Bohemians to ouerrunne Saxe, (vtterly refusing it, considering the alliance which they had made with that house, and for that they verilye thought hee had wrong doone him) caused his cauallerie of Husaries of Hungaries to come downe, and some Silesians, with whome he put all Saxe to fire and sworde: *Maurice* euer saying, that hee had rather sease thereof himselfe then a straunger should, considering that the mynes of siluer were common to him with his cousin, and that his landes were shutte in within the others, which hee made sure by this meanes: besides that hee did nothing but by the aduise of the estates, who had written to that end to his Cosin: and further that the Emperour had sworne vnto him, that hee ment no harme but to the Rebels, and not to Religion: wherefore in all cases the faith excepted, one ought to obeye that Magistrate, which suffered in his Countrie the exercise of religion; and so determined to pursue his owne right, and the differentes which so long time he had had with the Elector, fearing least his landes should fall into the handes of Strangers: offering when hee should be reconciled to the Emperour and *Ferdinand*, that he would restore vp al vnto him, whereof he certified his Cosin and his Sonne, so as the Hungarians following

The Protestants fault and error.

Maurice warreth against his cosin and the Protestants.

ing

ing of him, he tooke all the places except Gothe-aenac and Witemberge, binding all the ſubiects to ſweare vnto him. For which he was miſliked by euery man, rendring ſo poore a recompence vnto him, whom he ought to haue held for a father, & author of all his good. He was ſonne to *Henrie*, whoſe brother *George* Duke of Saxe, had ordained by his teſtament, that the Emperour ſhould enioye his prouince vntill that his brother had renounced the Proteſtant Religion: But the Elector and *Landgraue* hindered it, making his teſtament to be broken, & tooke *Henrie* and his children into their league. Moreouer whreas *George* had giuen vnto him a penſion in mony, & that they feared for ſpight of Religion he would refuſe to pay it, the Proteſtants promiſed him in caſe it ſhould ſo fall out, to furniſh the ſomme vnto him themſelues, ſo the Saxon being called on that ſide, and ſeeing the *Landgraue* (hauing left vnto him his people) retyre himſelfe, and that the Allies furniſhed no more ſupplies, hee went aganſt *Maurice*, out of whoſe hands in the end he got againe all the places, and tooke a number of his people, and whatſoeuer *Ferdinand* had taken from him, ſhutting both them into Bohemia, he ſubiected to himſelfe alſo the Biſhoppricke of Magdeburg, and Halbeſtat, hauing conuented with *Iohn Albert* the Biſhop. The Emperour in the meane time triumphed thorough out Germanie, ordayning and impoſing great ranſomes to al the Princes, and Proteſtant Cities, euen to the Elector Palatine, who before as a Neutre, was readye to haue reformed his Churches by *Paul Faggius*, had not this accident fallen out, and was faine to haue pardon of the Emperour for the 400. horſe which hee had ſent to the Proteſtants: albeit hee proteſted that it was not ment againſt him, but by right of Obligation, carried by a particular contract with the Duke of Witemberg. Whome likewiſe, and his ſonne *Chriſtopher* hee pardoned, but woulde not his brother *George*, all renouncing the Leage, and not ſpeaking of Religion.

Afterwards the Emperour purſuing of the Saxon, the 22. of Aprill 1549. ariued at Miſnes which *Frederic* had quit, and burning the woodden bridge, encamped himſelfe at Mulburge neare the riuer of Albye, the Emperour ſtill haſtening for feare he ſhould encloſe himſelfe within Witemberg. So as with a thouſand Spaniſh Harquebuſiers, which waded into the water, to paſſe forward, he aſſailed the garde on the other ſhoare notwithſtanding the Cannon ſhot, which ſhowred downe on euerie ſide. Afterwards with the ſmall Boates which *Frederic* had abandoned, hee made a bridge, ouer which the Hungarians of *Ferdinand* and the light horſe paſſed firſt, followed with the reſt, haſtning to follow *Frederic*, who was reencountred 3. leagues from Albye, neare the forreſt Lochane, where hee charged him ſo hard, that after a long combat, he was defeated, hurt, taken and brought by the Duke of Alua vnto him, to whome hauing ſaid, *I render my ſelfe thy priſonner, moſt mercifull Emperour, and pray thee to giue me entertainment worthy of a Prince*, he anſwered. Now then thou doeſt acknowledge me an Emperour, but I wil handle thee according to thy deſert. Shortly after being condemned to death, the Elector of Brandebourge ſo much appeaſed the Emperour, that he had his life, not refuſing any conditions offred vnto him, ſauing to obey the Emperours ordinances or the Councell, chuſing rather to die. It was then ordained that the Emperour ſhould confiſcate all his goods, which he gaue to *Ferdinand* and *Maurice*, vpon condition that *Maurice* ſhould yeerely pay vnto the Saxon and his children fiftie thouſand crownes. If it ſo ſeemed good to the Emperour and *Maurice*, he ſhould enioy Gote, ſo as he rayſed the Caſtle and fortefied not the Towne. And for that hee was much in debt, *Maurice* ſhoulde giue vnto his children one hundred thouſand crownes, to be employed to the payment of his debtes

The Elector hurt taken & brought to the Emperour.

growne

growne before the league of Smalcade: and that *Maurice* should discharge all such debts as his lands, which had beene confiscat, and giuen vnto him by the Emperour were lyable vnto: And so all suites to be had at an ende, and his children to haue the vsufruite of the goods mentioned, if they approued these conditions, and the people likewise. And in respect his life was saued, he should for euer after remaine prisoner to the Emperour, and to his sonne the Prince of Spaine. Hee surrendred likewise his right and dignitie of Elector into the handes of the Emperour, who put *Maurice* as well in possession of the dignitie as lands of *Frederic*. And by his decree it was ordayned, that if the other should chaunce to dye without heires males, *Augustus* his brother and his children should be in remainder thereunto, which was doone the 24. of Februarie 1548. at Witemberge. *Frederic* regarding the ceremonies of his house all the Electors present, the Landgraue vnder suertie of *Brandebourge*, *Maurice*, and *Volfange* his sonnes in law, rendred himselfe almost to the discretion of the Emperour, who afterwards proposed a league at Vlme, to appease all such troubles as might ensue either for Religion or otherwise: But the whole was referred to Ausbourge. Hereupon the Landgraue hauing demaunded, and receiued pardon, and promise that he should not remaine prisoner, was stayed and commaunded to follow the Emperour, after that he had accomplished all the rest of the conditions. For which *Maurice* and *Brandebourge*, being his suerties for his libertie grew in great rage; so as the Emperour to defraye the expence of his warre got, what with these ransomes, and otherwise among the Catholiques, and Lutherans aboue sixtene hundred thousand crownes, and well fiue hundred peces of Artillerie, which hee sent into Spaine, Naples, Milan, and the low countrie.

Great ransomes which the Emperour had of the Germaines.

The Emperour after these victories assigned a day first at Vlme, then at Ausbourg to accord points in Religion, reforme the Iustice of the chamber, & obey the Councell. The Palatin, *Maurice*, and *Brandebourge* would not consent to any but in place free and sure. In the end, that thereby they might the sooner get the Landgraue out of prison they accorded one, and by their example, the more resolute Cities, by writing graunted somewhat of their demaunde: So as the Emperor being very ioyfull thereof, made great instance towardes the Pope, that hee would remoue the Councell to Trent from Bologne where he had appointed it to be held 1544. in respect of the vnholsomnes of the aire said *Hieroſme Fracaſter* who monthly had a great pension from him. And vpon the difficultie which the Pope made therein, hee sent *Mendoza* to protest of his parte before the Pope, and the rest of Bologne, that hee held of no account whatsoeuer should be there concluded: declaring that he would prouide thereto well enough, by a lawfull conuocation of the estates of Germanie, 1548 which were of his very opinion being assembled at Ausbourge. And further for that he would not haue the Councell to bee cleane in dispaire of being held, the delaying thereof so much importing him, when as power was giuen vnto him to chuse the Collocutors, Iudges, and witnesses, he tooke *Iules Flug* Bishoppe of Numbourg, *Michael* of Sidoine, *Iohn Alebe Agricola*, who 18. yeares before had beene a Lutheran, *Melanthon*, and *Brence*, who very secretly wrote a Booke of Religion, and after they had againe perused and corrected it, presented it vnto him: But *Bucer* finding many things contained therin, refused to signe it, saying that the Popes doctrine was there manifestly confirmed, and since that in like sorte they added sundrie other things: So as both the Pope and Protestants alowed of it, albeit small reformation was had therein of any such Articles as were generally receiued of the Catholiques. *Romue* generall of the *Iacobins* wrote against it at Rome, and so did *Robert* Bish-

The Emperor would haue the Councell remoued frō Bolonia to Trent.

oppe

oppe of Auranches in Fraunce, for that this booke permitted marriage to Prieſts, and the Supper vnder both kindes. The Emperour notwithſtanding preſſed the eſtates hard to ſticke faſt vnto it, and not to innouate any thing either in their preachings or writings to the contrarie, attending the decree of a Councell. Afterwards the fiftenth of May the Archbiſhop of Mayence cheefe of the Electors, thanked him for his ſo great care of the publike, in the name of them all, and ſaide that all ought to obey his decree: The which he accounted as a common approbation, and woulde not for euer after admit of any other reaſon or excuſe to the contrarie, whoſoeuer would ſay that they had not conſented thereunto: In ſort that he cauſed it to be imprinted both in the Latine, and vulgar Germaine tongs. Fower daies after he beſought the eſtates to contribute by hed, towardes the remedying of ſuch inconueniences, as either for Religion or otherwiſe might fall out in the common wealth, and that the money might bee reſerued as a publike treaſor in ſome places fitteſt for that purpoſe, to haue ſuccours readie at neede: and *Ferdinand* required as much to releeue him againſt the Turke the fiue yeares of truce being expired. Afterwardes the Emperour ſomewhat and ſuperficially reformed the ſtate of the Church about the end of Iune 1548. and cauſed a Booke to be imprinted: *Maurice* departing from Ausbourge about the end of 1548. went into his owne countrie, where his eſtates vrging him with his promiſe to maintaine among them the pure confeſsion of Ausbourge, in the end hee cauſed to be made a forme of Religion which all ought to holde: from whence great Scandale aroſe. All the Princes and Cities except Breme, and Magdebourge conſented to the decree of Ausbourge, an occaſion that the latter was by the Emperour expoſed as a pray to all ſuch as would warre vpon him in the yeare 1549. Now as this decree of Ausbourge was alreadie as it were generally receiued throughout all Germany, ſo greatly did the victorie and Spaniſh Garriſons of the Emperour, together with the Saxons and Landgraues impriſonment, aſtoniſh the people, at ſuch time eſpecially, when there was an apparant chaunge of Religion thoroughout all the countries of *Maurice*, the miniſters of the Churches of Lubec, Lunebourg, and Hambourge confuted well at length the Booke and decree of Ausbourge, by another contrarie, which they cauſed to be put in printe, whereof *Iohn Epin* was the principall author. Shortly after the Doctors of Magdebourge, *Nicholas Amſtroff*, and aboue all *Mathias Flaccius* an Illiricque, borne in the Citie of Albonne, who ſince was one of the principall authors of the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of Magdebourge, and *Nicolas Le Cocq* oppoſed themſelues ſtoutly againſt them of Witemberge and Lipſa, and condemned them in ſundrie printed Bookes as diſſemblers, ouer ſimple, to timorous, and by indifferent and meane things how they had made a high way to the papiſticall Religion: the which at the firſt proceeding from a good beginning, grew in ſimplicitie, afterwards ſuffered it ſelfe to corrupt thorough a diſordinate lycence of ſuch thinges among the Chriſtians of the primitiue Church: who ouercome by little and little, with ſo great a feare of diſpleaſing, and roundly reſiſting ſuch as at the firſt woulde bring in their fantaſies for ſure rules of Faith, in the end cleane marred, vnder a Maske of things indifferent and ſuch like humaine traditions, the true and pure worde of God. For concluſion they ſet downe this rule, that all ceremonies and faſhions, how indifferent ſoeuer they may be of themſelues, are no more neate at this preſent, conſidering that the vertue, opinion and neceſsitie of ſeruice is now annexed thereunto, and that occaſion of impietie is yeelded thereby. *Illiricque* one of the authors of this learned and laborious Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, had beene certaine yeares an Auditor and Diſciple of *Melanthon*: but in this different, retyred himſelfe to Magdebourge:

and

and caused a Book to be imprinted wherein he rendred the reason of his act. They of Hambrough wrote likewise to them of Witemberg, & especially to *Phillip Melancthon*, making a Catalogue of such things as they termed Neuter, or indifferent, & setting downe what might bee receiued, and together prayed them to write openly of their side, what they would haue comprehended vnder that name, to the end men might agree on somwhat, & follow it without varying. And for feare least the name of Neutralitie might giue occasion to sundry other errors, which by little and little might bee engraued in the braines of men, *Melancthon*, a man sweete, fearefull, and a great enemie to all ryots, answered among other thinges that some seruitude might well be borne, prouided that it were without any impietie. Melancthons answere

Now not to long to leaue behinde, the persecution of the Catholikes against the Lutherans in the Realme of France, K. *Henry* seeing at Paris the 19 of Nouember 1549. the Edicts of his father very euill executed by the negligẽce of the Ecclesiastical Iudges which was complained of vnto him (cõtending with the soueraigne courts & other Iudges of their natural iurisdictions & powers) ordained the better to cõforme himselfe to the title of *Thrise-Christian*: that the Royal iudges should take knowledge, ioyntly of the said faults as the cases shoulde offer thẽselues: astouching the information & decree only, after hauing well executed the decree, & examined the accused, they should deliuer thẽ vp to the Church, to iudge of the errors, or simple heresie, in case it proceeded rather of ignorance, error, & humaine frailtie, lightnes & brittenes of the tonge of the accused, then of meere malice or will to cut himselfe off from the vnion of the Church: and in case together with heresie were found any publike scandall popular commotion, sedition, or other crime importing any publike offence & consequently in case priueledged, then to be tyred by the Royal Iudges, & of the Church together. And after the common fault shal be iudged by the Church thẽ the case priueledged shalbe iudged by the Royal, charging that any appeale made frõ the sentence shold be brought into Parliament. And for that the Iudge Ecclesiastical had not the seasure of mens persons out of their Pretoire, for the aide wich the one Iust-ice ought vnto the other, it was now giuen by priueledge vnto him, & as far as should please him, that in this crime only he might cause, vnder his authoritie, by their feargeants, to be put in execution the decrees of such arest of bodies as shold be iudged by thẽ, without asking any permission of any secular Iudges, for feare that in delaying, the accused might be aduertised therof, & so escape, & if the ecclesiastical iudge stood in need of any aide, it was enioyned to all officers Royal to execute the Ecclesiasticall decrees, without taking any knowledge of the cause. And in case the accused, or any such as it should bee decreed against, should absent themselues, it was ordained that the Iudge Royall, within three dayes shoulde proceede against them by seasure of their goods, that the accused should bee deliuered vp to the iudge of the Church, to bee proceeded against as aboue saide. Afterwardes vpon the engrosing of this Edict in Parliament at Paris the twentie nine of Nouember, the Court ordayned at the request of the Proctor generall, that vppon the plight shoulde bee set downe at the charge, that the Iudge Ecclesiasticall shal not condemne any man, for crime of heresie, be he lay or Clarke, in any pecuniarie fine: & further that when in crime of heresie he shall haue giuen any iudgement, either of perpetuall prison, or otherwise hee shall no more in the ende of the condemnation vse these accustomed wordes, *Salua misericordia Domini*: And that forbidding shoulde bee made as well of the one, as the other. And for that the Kinge perceiued how slowly enough they proceeded to the execution of this Edict, the greater parte of the Royall iudges not so forwarde in fauouring the Ecclesiasticall as they desired, to bee meete therewith hee was Persecution of Lutherans.

 councelled

councelled to ſend his commaundement to the Parliament of Paris from *Fountainbleau* the 9. of Februarie 1549. willing them to appoint commiſſioners out of their body, to make the inditements of ſuch as ſtoode euill affected to the faith, in caſe the Preſidiall, or otherwiſe the Royall Iudges ſhould bee negligent, who ſhould pay the expences of ſuch appointed deputies.

Diet of Ausbourge.

Hereupon the 27. of Iuly the Emperour began the day of Ausbourge, propoſing there to continue the Councell, to keep the laſt decree of Ausbourg, to puniſh the rebels, & reſtore the iuriſdiction and goods of the Church. But *Maurice* declared by his Embaſſadors, as it were alone againſt all the reſt, that he could not avow the councel except all begun a freſh, and that the Diuines of the confeſſion of Ausbourg might bee ther hard, with power to decide the matters, that the Pope ſhould not ſit as chief, but ſubmit himſelfe to the Councell, that he ſhould abſolue all Biſhops of their oth made vnto him, to the end they might freely deliuer their minde. But it was not permitted that this declaration ſhould be regiſtred. In the meane time *George* D. of Megelbourg with a maine army waſted the coũtry of Magdebourg, againſt whom the inhabitants & ſouldiers iſſued forth. But hauing in the hinder part of his army placed all the Marchants & Villagers, for that the beſt were in the fore front, they defeated thẽ, tooke the Artillerie, Baggage, & ſundry of the inhabitants. This done, as they intertained notwithſtanding *Maurice* in al duty, the Elector of *Brandebourg*, *Albert* his coſſen, *Henry* of Brunſwich, & ſundry other addreſſed troupes the better to ſhut thẽ in. But ſalied forth vpon them conducted by certain Gentlemen, Captaines & ſouldiers, who in diſpite of *Brunſwich* were retired thither, and carried themſelues ſo fortunately, as they tooke their *George* of Megelbourg author of all. After *Maurice* was declared chiefe of the army by the Emperor & the eſtates, with intent to block thẽ in, ordaining one hundred thouſand crownes for the expences paſt, & threeſcore thouſand for euery moneth to come. Vpon the diſpleaſure in the meane time which the Emperor cõceiued for that the decree of Ausbourg was not practiſed, the Proteſtants ſaid that they could not ſo ſoone roote out the Religion, which had ſo long time growne old in the harts of men & the Catholiques laide the fault vpon the Prieſts, negligence of Magiſtrates, & wickednes of the Lutheran miniſters, ſo as nothing could be reſolued of, but all referred to the Councell. Hereupon Pope *Iuly* aſſigned the Councel at Trent the firſt of May 1550. by his Bull which he ſent vnto the Emperour. Now as the Emperor departing out of his countrie to come to Ausbourg, had left the *Landgraue* at Malines, *Maurice* and *Brandebourg* made earneſt inſtance for his deliuerie: but it was anſwered that not onely hee, but alſo his children & Councellors had ſo be haued themſelues, that hee might not as yeat be deliuered. The Garde likewiſe told him that he was to be carried into Spaine: which made him ſeeke aide of his children, to whom ſetting before their eyes the fidelitie wherewith they were tyed vnto him, hee gaue in charge, that they ſhould cite *Maurice* to appeare according to the tenor of his obligation, which they did, and cited their friends many times moſt inſtantly. But they now together, now apart, one while by meſſengers, an other while in perſon, ſhewed that it would neither turne to their profit nor their Father to run to worke ſo headily. And from time to time alleaged new reaſons, whereby they hoped that hee might bee deliuered without any daunger, they prayed them then to take patience, and demaunded reſpite. The Emperour who had alreadye ſollicited the *Landgraue*, by *De La Lare*, to deliuer vp into his handes the letters of Obligation, ſeeing himſelfe againe importuned for his deliuerance, ſent *Lazarus Schwende* to his Children and Councellors, commaunding them not onelye hence forward to take heede they preſſed no more *Maurice* and *Brandebourge*, but alſo to ſende vnto him all the letters and renounce

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any more the following therof. If they fayled therin, he threatned thē that they shold well abide the burthen of it. And yet for all that he preuailed not, hee declared in like sort al such Princes as were bound quit, & absolued of their promises: The *Landgraue* then seing not any hope left, determined to make an escape if it were possible for him; vpon which he sundry times consulted with his people which he caused to come frō Hesse: But fearing the danger, they were very slack, in the end he made *Conrad Bredestein*, & *Iohn Romelia*, vndertake the matter, who from his owne countrie as far as Malines layd post horses, vpon which he might escape. But the matter came out by one of his owne seruants, who in great friendship had told one at Malines, that within a few howers he shold be at liberty, for being come frō hand to hand to the captaine of the Gards eares, euen vpō the pinch that he was ready to take his heeles, the matter burst out and two of his seruants slaine in the place, the rest taken and beheaded, and him selfe clapped into a more close prison. Whereof the Emperour being aduertised, hee tooke it maruelously at the hart, & wrote to *Maurice* & *Brandebourg* that this so audatious an enterprise turned to his dishonor, being resolued rigorously to punish those which had either Councel or assisted him therin. They sent the Copie of these letters to *Guilleamme du Lantgraue*, telling him among other matters, that if he wold any more attempt the like, they would in nought be boūd vnto him: *Maurice* notwithstanding conforted him apart, promising for the deliuerance of their father not only al his substance, but also to aduenture his own life, assuring him that at such time as commoditie should present it selfe, he would represent himself in Iustice, when as matters shold be so setled as they should haue very small cause to care for the mislike of any. Which made many to surmise that at that time he practised some league with the French.

The Landgraue discouered minding to haue made an escape.

Maximilian of Austria sonne in law to the Emperor, & chosen in his absence K. of Bohemia came at this time frō out of Spaine to Ausbourg, called thither by *Ferdinand* his father, for the different which he had with his brother the Emperor, as touching the succession of the empire. For the deciding whereof the Emperour had caused his sister *Mary* to returne thither, who was parted from him in the month of September: for knowing how materiall the annexing of Germany was vnto himselfe, he desired ther to ensure & establish the seate of his sonne, who ought to rule ouer so sundry, and seperate prouinces. *Ferdinand* who tended to the same end, was as well resolued, not to frustrate the attempt or profite thereof, were it either for himselfe, or his children. Now *Maximilian* was of so milde a nature, & vnderstoode so many tongues, & singularlie the Germaine, endued besides with such a curtesie in his manner of life, that he was not onely agreeable vnto all the people, but his vertues procured vnto him such good hap, and aduancement, as I shall in place hereafter declare vnto you.

Difference about succession in the empire.

For the better assistance of this councel whether the Emperor had giuen assurance to the Protestants to come in safetie, they chose these diuines, *Melanchon* for Sax, *Bucer* for Witemberg, vnited in opinion, & approued by thē of Strasbourg: and after agreed vpon such points as were to be ther proposed, for all this *Maurice* to gaine time, spie his opportunity, and inforce the Emperor to deliuer & set at liberty his father in law, trayning the siege of Magdebourg in length, wrote backe vnto him, that for his part he stoode very well contented, with that faith which he had giuen vnto him, & could require very litle more. But for so much as he was informed, that there stood in force a decree made by the councel of Constance, by which it was ordained that informatiō shold be made against al heretiques or any suspected of heresie, if perchance any sommoned to a councell shold appeare ther, & that sentence should be ther pronounced against thē, albeit that the Emperor shold giue thē his faith & safe conduct, he desired a sufficienter assurance, for saith he this decree remaineth ingrosed, & they

Councell.

Maurice demaundeth a more safe-conduct.

The Catholiques helde that faith was not to be holden with heretiques.

right well put it in practise, in putting *Iohn Hus* to death. Who barely relying vpon the faith, & safecõduct which the Emperor *Sigismond* gaue him, went thither, the matter being thẽ thus, could not by any menes send any of his own people to Trent, except the Prelates which were ther did in like sort giue their faith, in the name of the whole Councell, as it was doone at the Councell of Basle, which incontinently followed that of Constance, for the Bohemians hauing bene made wise by that which was before done, would by no meanes come to Basle but vnder a safeconduct frõ the whole Councell, he required then that by vertue of his authoritie & credit, he would cause them to doe as much, otherwise if they did not giue safe conduct in like manner as had beene before giuen at Basle, he protested, that it ought not to turne to any matter of consequent, either to himselfe, or any of like Religion, if they sent no man thither I haue aboue spoken of *Iohn Hus*, of the Councell of Constance, & of the war which the Bohemians made against the Church-men for such cõdemnations. Now for that there was a decree made at Constance, that the first Councell shoulde bee held fiue yeares after, the other 7. and then from ten yeares, to ten yeares, the fathers assembled together againe at Basle: and for so much as the Bohemians had not as then beene reconciled, pursuite was made against them by letters and messages, so as in the Cittie of Egre, there was a forme of safeconduct set downe in writing, the Bohemians saying that they would not make any difficultie at all to appeare at the Councell, prouided that the fathers would agree to that: after that they which had beene sent in Embassage had made report, of that which they had doone, the fathers approued it and dispatched away the like safeconduct sealed, and by the most louing letters exhorted them to make themselues ready, so as, when the safeconduct of the Emperour *Sigismond* should be in like sort sent vnto them, they might presently set forwards on their iournie. This was during the fower Session, in the yeere of grace 1432. *Maurice* then being thereof aduertised by his people, sollicited the Emperour, & earnestly insisted vpon the ordinance of Basle, both as being the last, & most conuenient for that time. For the case now of the Protestants, and then of the Bohemians was almost alike. And the Councell published at Trent for the like causes in effect, as it was at Basle: to wit, to roote out heresies, to restore the peace and tranquillitie of the common wealth, and for the amendement of the Church, all vices being vtterly secluded.

Safe conduct from the coũcell at Basle for the Bohemians.

The Emperour in the meane time, changed the estates of the Cities of Germanie alongest as he passed by, as at Ausbourg wher he altered the Senate, and reformed all at his pleasure. Afterwards retired into Flanders, he sent *Henrie Hase* 1551. al along the Suaube appointing new Councellors, and deposing all such Preachers and ministers as wold not obey the decree of Ausbourg. In the meane time Magdebourg was continually battered and rudely intreated, but after manye skirmishes reciprocall betweene the armie of *Maurice*, and those which were besieged in Magdebourge for one whole yeare together, the 3. of Nouember 1551. *Hedec* being sent from *Maurice* came to Magdebourg, where hauing caused the Captaines to come foorth into the next forte, he agreed of all things, and there passed letters signed and sealed: Pasport was graunted to the men of warre to depart in safetie, but as soone as they were cassirde, they were secretly entertained againe and enroled, vnder the charge of Megelbourg, who by accord had beene set at libertie; for *Maurice* to good purpose, would by no meanes haue his owne name come in question. The cõditions of peace were these that they shoulde beseech pardon of the Emperour, attempt nothing against the house of Austria and of Burgundie: submit themselues to the chamber; obey the last decree of Ausbourg; represent themselues in iustice at the requeste of any which would bring action against them; rayse the fortifications of their Cittie at the

Magdebourg deliuered vp.

Emperours

Emperors pleſure; receiue Garriſon at al times pay 150 thouſand crownes to the publike treaſor, deliuered to the emperor 12 great peeces of Artillerie towards the charges of his war and releaſe the Duke of Megelbourg, and all the reſt of the priſoners. The ſame very day that thoſe which had beene beſiedged went out, which were 2000 Pietons and 130 horſe, *Maurice* cauſed fiue enſignes of Fanterie to enter in, and the next morning himſelfe entred the Citie with his Cauallery. The Senate went out to meet him, to whome he cauſed an oath to be miniſtred to become true to the Emperour, th'empire and himſelfe, afterwards hauing left a ſufficient Garriſon, he cauſed al the reſt to voyd. That doone hee ſent for the preachers, and greatly complayned by his Councellors *Facius*, *Calebric*, and *Mortiſe*, of the iniurie which they had doone vnto him, in little Bookes, and Pictures imprinted by them, as if he had beene one reuolted from the Doctrine of the Goſpell, & had made war againſt the Citie for their cõſtant profeſsion of the truth. Wherefore he ſaid, he had iuſt cauſe to be reuenged of them if he would follow his owne affections, but he quitted all to the cõmon wealth. Requiring from thence forward that they ſhoulde exhort the people to amendment of life, & to beare reuerence to the Magiſtrate, he cõmanded alſo that they ſhould make publike praiers for the Emperour, for himſelfe, and for all other Magiſtrates. He ſaid further that the Councell was then held at Trent, to which he would preſent a confeſſion of the true doctrine, as well in his owne name as of al the reſt of the Princes & eſtates, that they ſhold pray to God then to proſper the enterpriſe, & take heede hereafter from proceeding in like iniuries as they had accuſtomed. The miniſters after hauing conſulted together anſwered, that it was not they themſelues which had publiſhed thoſe Pictures, & yeat they could not eſteeme them worthy of any reprehenſiõ, for that it was not to be denied, but ſince three yeares laſt paſt many of his Countrie were reuolted frõ the pure doctrine; beſides that it was an eaſie matter to proue how the Cittie had beenẽ beſieged for the Goſpels ſake, if they would onely regard but who were the firſt authors of the warre; that they had euer doone their dutie in admoniſhing of the people, which they would in like ſort doe euer after: as touching the Councell which was aſſembled to deface the truth, and in which the Pope was as cheefe, that was not lawfull for them to make any other praier vnto God, then that it would pleaſe him to breake in ſunder, bruſe, and ſcatter their deuiſes & imaginations, for nought could they elſe attend from thence then all my miſchiefe. The Articles of compoſition were then publiſhed. But it is certaine that they were put in good aſſurance of their libertie & Religion: Beſides that *Maurice* choſe rather, that the towne ſhold be yeelded to him then to the Emperor, as the iſſue afterwards declared. Now the end of the miſeries of Magdebourg, was the beginning of a war to thẽ, who had beene the authors of their afflictions as we wil tell you. In the meane while that *Maurice* remained in the towne, he ſufficiently open himſelfe, & gaue out that it ſhold coſt him his life, but he would ſet his father in law at liberty: yea ſo far as the next morning he did not ſticke to tell it franckly to one which was talking with him. He had before ſent his Embaſſadors to the Emperor, for the deliuery of the Landgraue, hauing aſſociated vnto him the K. of Denmarke, & ſundry Princes of Germanie as we will ſhew you, being reſolued to proceede therein by force, if he could not otherwiſe obtaine it beſides that he had already made a couenant with the K. of France, who had ſecretly ſent thither *Iohn de Ferſne* B. of Bayonne. Who hauing a long time negotiated in Germany had good vnderſtanding of the tong. But it ſeemed, that the Emperour made very ſmall accounte of all theſe matters, and dreamed of nothing elſe then the warre of Parma, and Councell of Trent.

Embaſſage from the king of Fraunce to Maurice.

Hereupon the children of the Landgraue wrote againe to the Emperour for the deliuerie of their father, whereof they would faine ſee an end. Who in the beginning of Nouember 1551. was gon as farre as Enipont, as well at the requeſt of the Prelats to fauour the holding of the Councell, as the better to prouide for the war of Perma betweene him and the King of Fraunce, to which he ſeemed ſo wedded as perſwading himſelfe that the King would not vndertake any other matter, he ſcarce beleeued the preparatiues of warre which were ſaid to bee made in Germanie. Then the Embaſſadors of theſe two Princes, being come in the beginning of December, after hauing moſt humblye ſaluted the Emperour in the name of their maſters, ſpoake in this ſorte. *You know moſt merciſull Emperour, in what paine remaine at this day the moſt excellent Princes Electors* Maurice *and* Brandebourge *for the detaining in hold of the Landgraue, a matter happening vnto them beyond all expectation, ſuch time, as thorough a ſingular affection which they carried vnto you, by reaſon whereof they were deſirous to prepare vnto you the way to an eaſie and notable victorie, they ſought nought elſe then to eaſe you of a great charge by a long warre, and reſtore the Countrie to peace and tranquillitie. For which reſpect they haue ſo often bene ſuters vnto you, as wel in their proper perſon, as by their Embaſſadors, that it might pleaſe you to regard them, and releaſe the priſoner: your anſwere to their laſt Embaſſador was, that you could not doe it vntill you ſaw the iſſue of the day prefixed to bee held, beſides that you made no other promiſe, but that he ſhould not alwaies remaine captiue if he kept the accord: But for ſo much as they being buſied about other affaires, haue not beene able at the ſame day to bee in perſon themſelues, they againe ſollicited you at Ausbourge, by their Councellors and reiterated letters. In anſwere whereof you wrote backe vnto them the reaſons of your conceiued diſpleaſure againſt him, pronouncing the Princes abſolued of their obligation towards the children of the Captiue. Wherefore they determyned to importune you in the like againe. And had come themſelues in perſon, had it not beene for what you know, they were both of them employed in the warre of Magdebourge, beſides that* Brandebourg *himſelfe was ſicke, which was the cauſe that they haue giuen vs in charge, to declare vnto you for the firſt point. That when you did ordaine that the Landgraue ſhould yeeld himſelfe vnto you vpon condition, they vnderſtoode your intention by the B. of Arras, which was, that he ſhould receiue, and keepe ſuch conditions, as you had propoſed and imparted vnto them. If it ſtoode a matter neeafull to perſwade him to yeelde himſelfe in ſuch ſort, it was as needfull to declare vnto him that he ſhould not bee kept as a Captiue, nor worſe dealt with then the treatie of peace contained. The Princes then were his pledges, which your Councellers alſo well enough vnderſtoode. And where as the Landgraue ſtill inſiſted, that they ſhould declare vnto him ſome Articles of th'accord, and required that for the diſpatch thereof he might not be ſtayed aboue ſixe daies, it was graunted vnto him, after that the matter had beene propoſed to the B. of Arras. As touching the reſt of the points the Princes obtained therein more then they demaunded. And admit that in this proceeding matters ſhould not be a like vnderſtoode of the one ſide, and the other, & that the Landgraue being come was impriſoned againſt the faith promiſed, yeat had the Princes neuer accuſed you for the ſame, had they not the ſame time, hauing bene graciouſly promiſed by your ſelfe, gon themſelues in perſon to Halle, & fet him thence, at ſuch time as the Landgraue approaching ſent vnto them to come vnto him to Numbourg. For at that time they ſpoake with you, ſignifying vnto you that they had perſwaded him to ſtand to the conditions propoſed, and that he was not far off, yea that if it pleaſed you they would goe and meete him: In the meane time praying you that ſince hee yeelded himſelfe vpon their faith and aſſurance, he might be charged no farther, to which you condiſcended. Now in the laſt diſpatch, there was no mention at all made either of priſon or detention, as your owne people the Biſhoppe of Arras and of Selde can verie well witneſſe. For the firſt had all the charge in this matter, and ſometimes called the other to aſsiſt him: for after that the*

Maurice and Brandebourg Embaſſadors ſpeech.

conditions

conditions were accepted of, and pardon demaunded, the Princes stood fully assured, that he should be incontinently released; which they had reason to imagine for sundry causes. First, for that the Councellors neuer made once mention of retaining him, which was a principall point in the treatie which the Landgraue perceiued, and considered of aboue all. Moreouer, sundry thinges are contained therein, which is not possible for any Prince captiue to accomplishe, but for him onelye which is at libertie. After that he had besought you pardon, you remitted his fault, and were contented to reuoke his banishment, and giue him letters of reconciliation, besides that you receaued pledge and assurance, wherein it was set downe, that if he did not performe the accord, the people should deliuer him vp vnto you, and the pledges should by force of armes constraine him to do his dutie. All these things certes, had serued to nothing, and had beene meere superfluous, if they had thought he should haue endured corporall punishment: but they imagining nothing lesse, considering especially that the Councellors neuer made mention thereof, brought him vpon this assurance, promising to deliuer him backe againe before his children, and to endure like punishment that he should doe, if any outrage were offred him. Such was their intention, which was since more confirmed, when after great request the Duke of Alua inuited them to Supper at his house with the Landgraue. It was not possible for them to conster in so ill a sence, this summons and hospitalitye, (considering the custome and fashion of the Princes of Germany) that he should goe into the D. of Alua his house, as into a prison: and that they should goe with him side by side, and beare him company thither, which had they neuer so little made doubt of, who can imagine what they would haue done? for considering how they are Princes of Germany, and also Electors, issued from right honourable familyes, neuer would they haue bene a meanes that a Prince of an excellent house, both their allie and freend, should haue bene brought to such a banquet to fall into so great troubles, and that they should leade him as captiue, and they were no whit at all made priuie to the fact, vntill after supper when the D. of Alua tolde him, that hee must remaine in the Castle as in prison: howsoeuer the matter was, they went to worke with a good meaning, as we sayde in the beginning; and for so much as they haue plighted their faith, you may well perceiue how hard and greeuous a matter it will be both to them and their children, if after hauing bene often put in minde of their promises, and after caution giuen, the Landgraue he detayned prisoner: yon perceiue likewise (most puissant Emperour) you, who deriue your race from the Germaines, (considering that the Children of the Captiue Prince pursue their right, & presse thē to redeliuer him vnto them, according to the condition of the bond) what becommeth them to doe according to the ancient custome of the Nobilitie of Germany, for to preserue their honour and good reputation, and how they should be inexcusable towards all the rest of the Princes, when the power of citing should be taken from them, or the instrument of the bond, in such forme as remaineth in their handes, that if perchaunce the Landgraue who neither is prisoner by faith giuen, nor by composition, but by occasion before specified, through the griefe and impatience of his so long restrainte, haue sought some meanes to escape, and that his men haue attempted ought against the Guardes, the Princes beseech that it may turne no waies to their damage: but for that by reson of the obligation they are in so extreme distres, out of which you alone after the immortall God, are able to deliuer them, and that you are most certaine how they stand enwrapped in these inconueniences; besides that you stand fully assured of their good affection, loyalty, and seruice, for that in your aduersities they neither haue spared their goods, nor blond for your profit, according to the example of their ancestors, they beseech you as much as is possible, that you will succour them in deliuering of the prisoner, and that therein you weigh not so much the fact of the Landgraue, as their persons who holde you in singular reuerence, considering cheefelye that many of their families haue neither spared goods or liues for your ancestors, and for the house of Austria and of Burgundie: and if perchaunce you feare that when he shall be at libertie, he will breake the accorde, you doe very well when the matter shall proceede so farre, but the Nobilitye

and people of Heſſe ſhall promiſe the contrary vnto you by oath, and as the Princes haue made themſelues pledges, ſo if you deſire any further aſſurance they haue often offred it, and do at this preſent, hauing giuen power vnto vs to doe as much with you: as touching ſuch conditions as they haue bene able to accompliſh, they doe not thinke that ought is leſte remaining; and when you ſhall know the cauſe for which their ſortes haue not beene ſo ſoone raiſed, they make no doubt but that you will eaſily excuſe and purge the children of the captiue: if there reſt any other thing they will in euery reſpect employ themſelues to content you. Therefore if they, their Fathers or Grandfathers, haue euer done ſeruice to your ſelfe, to the Emperour Maximilian, *or any your anceſtors, or if you think that in time to come they may pleaſure you in any occaſion, they beſeech you affectionately that you ſuffer them to taſte ſome fruite thereof, and that you will cauſe them to ſee ſome effect of the hope and promiſe, which you gaue them firſt at Halle, ſecondly at Numbourg, and thirdly at Ausbourg: to the end in time to come they may haue the greater courage to honour you, being able to glory in that the fidelity and ſeruice which they haue done vnto you, hath bene by you acknowledged according to their deſerte, if they be refuſed, you may well thinke (excellent Emperour) what inconueniences will enſue, when they ſhall be enforced to appeare and approue their innocencye: but they hope well that you will regarde their praiers, which they will receiue for a ſingular benefite; and as well they, as the* Landgraue *with his children and alliance, ſhall for euer endure all paine to acknowledge it. And forſomuch as this matter toucheth ſo neerely their honour, they haue ſolicited the reſt of the Princes to entreate with them, whoſe Embaſſadours you ſee heere preſent, to the end that what themſelues haue not bene able to obtaine at your hands vntill this preſent, either by praiers, meſſages, or letters, theſe here may obtaine by their credit and fauour, beſeeching you to take it in this parte.*

After that they had thus ſpoken, they preſented vnto him the letters of *Ferdinand* K. of Romanes, of *Albert* D. of Bauieres, of the Bretheren of Lunebourg written in the behalfe of the *Landgraue:* thoſe Princes which made requeſt by their Embaſſadours, were the Elector *Frederic* Palatine, *Wolfang de deux pontz*, *Iohn* Marqueſſe of Brandebourg, *Henry*, and *Iohn*, *Albert* D. of Megelbourg, *Erneſt* Marqueſſe of Bade, and *Chriſtophre* D. of Witemberg, whoſe Deputies after hauing ſhewed their commiſſion ſpake in this manner.

The Princes Embaſſadors.

The Electors Maurice and Brandebourg finding themſelues greatly troubled for the impriſonment of the Landgraue, *and being minded to make requeſt vnto you for him (moſt merciſull Emperour) haue required our Princes to ioyne with them in this their requeſt, to the end it might be of greater weight and efficacie on their behalfe, which they could not deny vnto them, in regarde of that dutie of alliance, freendſhip, and coninnction which is betweene them. Conſidering then that the matter ſtandeth on ſuch tearmes, as the Embaſſadours haue at length fully declared, and that if the captiue be reſtrained any long time, it may turne to the damage and blame of thoſe which haue pawned their faith, the Princes which haue ſent vs hither doe beſeech you, and carefully warne you to weigh all theſe things, for they holde themſelues greatlye intereſſed if the honour, dignitie, and renowne of them be not countergarded: a matter likelye to enſue, if the* Landgraue *be not releaſed. They require then moſt humblye that theſe their requeſts may ſomewhat preuaile with you, eſpecially conſidering that hee hath already acknowledged his fault, and beſought pardon on both his knees: that it is now a long time he hath lien by it, and aboue all, in regarde that the extreame neceſsitie of the two Electors demaundeth it, who are fallen into this inconuenience, for their proceeding herein in good faith, and their willingnes to doe you ſeruice, that if peraduenture there may haue bene ſome fault committed, or that ſome matters haue vot bene ſo well vnderſtoode, yet it is a matter honeſt and proper to your mercy, to prefer equitie before the rigour of law, and not ſo much to regarde him which is captiue, as the ineuitable neceſsitie of the Electors, and to deale gently and liberally with them, ac-*

cording

cording to the example of your anceſtors, who haue alwaies bene carefull to preſerue the honour of the Princes of the Empire: that will turne to your great honour towards all men, and them eſpecially. And it will breed courage in them, to remaine vnto you ſingularly, faithfull frends, and affectionate ſeruants, and to employ themſelues in all thinges for the loue of you. The King of Denmarke in like ſorte had ſent his owne Embaſſadour, who made the like requeſt.

The Emperour made anſwere certaine daies after, that the matter was of importance, and required ripe deliberation, and for ſo much as he was aduertiſed that *Maurice* purpoſed to make his repaire very ſhortlye vnto him for other matters of conſequence, in ſorte as hauing written vnto him he attended him dayly, hee would defer it vntill his comming, hoping that the matter might then be entreated of moſt commodiouſly in his preſence, for their partes they might returne again to their Princes, and tell them as from him, that he would well carry in remembrance their demandes, and ſo guide himſelfe in this action, that they ſhould well vnderſtand that their recommendation caried great weight towards him.

Thus *Maurice* not able to picke any certainty out of all this, and cauſing himſelfe in the preſence of many to be importuned by the *Landgraues* children, who threatned to put both him and *Brandebourg* in ſute for breach of promiſe, had no ſooner reſolued with the Embaſſadour of Fraunce, (whoſe charge euery man was almoſt ignonorant of) of what ſuccour he was to draw thence, then he determined to make open warre againſt the Emperour, but for all that, the better to couer the fainednes of his intents, he ſent his deputies to Trent, to demaund ſuch another ſafeconduct as the Bohemians had at Conſtance, that the Pope ſhould ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Councell, and acquite the B. of their oathes, that all Nations might haue free acceſſe thither, and that whatſoeuer had beene decreede before the comming of the diuines ſhould be cancelled. *Srasbourg* and the D. of Witemberg his Embaſſadors ſaide as much. This comming of the Embaſſadours, and the promiſe which he made ſhortly after to be with the Emperour, tooke away all ſuſpition of warre, for the very Emperour wrote to the Archbiſhops of Mayence, Treues, and Cologne, to leaue Trent, and to goe home and defend their Countries from ſuch ſouldiers as had bene retayned after the ſiege of Magdebourg: and as the Emperour had in like ſort prayed them to do, they receiued very curteouſly: *Maurice* his deputies giuing vnto thē their ſafeconduct, ſaying that they had ſummoned thither all Nations, that all were free there, but that reaſon and their dutie would by no meanes permit them to diſanull or cancell ought, and much leſſe to ſubmit the Pope to the councell. The Embaſſadours after hauing examined their ſafeconduct, found it different from that of the Bohemians, and after that they had haſtely read it ouer, they found the principal articles changed, and the reſt cleane omitted: for in the ſafeconduct which was giuen out to the Bohemians, there was among other thinges, that they ſhould haue power to decide, that in all differents they ſhold take for iudge the holy ſcripture, the practiſe of the ancient Church, ſuch councels and interpreters as agreed with the holy Scripture, that it ſhould be lawfull for them to ſay diuine ſeruice in their houſes, in a tongue which they vnderſtoode, that nothing ſhould be proffered in contempt and blame of their doctrine, the firſt, third, and laſt of theſe points were cleane omitted, the ſecond which is the principall, was altogether altered: this being conſidered of according to the forme of the decree of Baſle, they preſcribed another ſafeconduct, and anſwered that it was not lawfull for them to exceed their commiſſion, which carried that they were not to take any ſafeconduct, but according to the contents of that at Baſle. The Proteſtant

Maurices demaunds at the councell.

Diuerſities of opinions in the Councell of Trent.

teſtant deputies for the cauſes before ſaide would departe, and alſo for that they were not able to endure the iniurious preachings of certaine Monkes againſt them & their religion, of which likewiſe they had not free exerciſe in their owne houſes: beſides the brute of the warre which haſtened then as well as the reſt of the Germanes and Italians, who on the other ſide ſuſpected that the Prelates of Spaine, Scicilie, Naples, and other Imperialls, which demaunded the continuance of the Councell, would require a reformation in the Popes authoritie, (whoſe Court they eſteemed alreadye ſtretched to farre) and in the diſcipline and manners of the Church, that the ſuperfluitie, ambition, and example of their euill life, might be taken away, that euery man ſhould take charge ouer his Church, and holde but one benefice, to which ſundrye Germane catholickes put to their helping handes, albeit otherwiſe they did not acknowledge any errour in the doctrine, and yet were of opinion that Councels might erre. In ſumme both they and the Italians (who they ſay neuer greatly loued to heare of Councels) fearing that they would enter into this conſideration, truſſed vp their bagge and baggage, as ſoon as they had newes of the taking of Ausbourg, which *Maurice* and his company took the fourth day of Aprill, three daies after the ſiege, from the Emperours Garriſon. And albeit that the day of the Seſſion was ordained to be the firſt of May, yet altogither in diſpaire, the Fathers which remained, aſſembled together the 20. of Aprill, and proroged the councell for two yeares, by reaſon of the diſcorde happened betweene the Kings and Princes, and for longer to, if in the mean time they could not be reconciled. But the Legate *Creſcence* Preſident of the Councell, remained in his bed, frighted with a ſpirit which hee ſawe by night, whereupon ſhortly after he fell ſicke, imagining that he could neuer eſcape it, any comforte that his freendes or familiars could yeelde vnto him: ſo he died at Veronne. The Pope in the mean time had accorded with the K. of Fraunce, who prepared himſelfe againſt the Emperour, as I will tell you.

The Councell of Trent deferred for 2. yeares.

Creſcence Cardinall, Legat and preſident for the Pope, died of an apprehenſion.

You haue ſeene the ſiege of Magdebourg, and what *Maurice* did for the deliuerye of the *Landgraue*, who perceiuing the Emperour, fed him with nothing but hopes, practiſed as many Princes, Captaines, and other, as he was able in Germany, to maintaine the libertie of Religion, and the common wealth. After that hee made an allyance with the K. of Fraunce, and gaue hoſtages on the one ſide and the other: and thē they cauſed the occaſions of the warre to be imprinted and ſpred abroad, to draw the more vnto them. In the mean ſeaſon th'emperour cauſed the Drum to be ſtrooke vp at the foot of the Mountains, and aſſembled his men of war at the towne of Rutte, as the moſt commodious Rende-uous for all his troupes.

The birth of H. 3. K. of France and Pologne.

Vpon the 21. of September 1551. Queene *Catherine* of Medices was brought a bed at Fontaine-bleau, of a Sonne, named *Edward Alexander* D. of Angouleſme, by the deputie of *Edward* K. of England, and of *Antoine* of Bourbon, D. of Vendoſme, with the Ducheſſe of Mantua, who ſince notwithſtanding left thoſe names, to take that of his Fathers, ſo as he ſhalbe euer hereafter named *Henry* the third, K. of Fraunce and of Pologne.

The Baronnie of Montmotency erected into a Duchie, with right of a Peere.

Much about the ſame time, the K. curious to acknowledge from wel to better, the good and agreeable ſeruices done vnto him by *Ane de Montmorency* his Conſtable, erected his Barronie of Montmorency into a Duchie, together with the right and prerogatiue of a Peere.

If the French liued in peace, the Germanes ſmallye caring for their reſt, prepared themſelues not onely to a ciuill and dangerous warre, but alſo deſired to bring in among them, the Prince of the Flower de Lys, for a counterpeaſe to the Emperour *Charles*,

Charles, whom they ſought to enforce, for the deliuery of the *Saxon* and *Landgraue*, which he holde priſoners, as alſo to reſtore Germanye to her former eſtate. To this end they had already made him to vnderſtand, together with their complaintes, what meanes they had to conſtraine him thereunto, if he would but releeue them with his ſuccor. To which the K. of Fraunce being councelled to liſten & yeeld all fauour, for naturall and ancient deſire to abate the greatnes of ſuch an enemye, before that hee would put his forces into the fielde, (to which hee gaue the Rende-uous at Vitry in Partois, hauing already ſent the Gouernours into their Prouinces, to leuye the beſt trained, and moſt voluntary Souldiers that they coulde) hee cauſed to be publiſhed throughout his owne Realme, Italye, high and lowe Germanye, and other quarters, the declaration of his will and true purpoſe touching thoſe ſuccours, which hee was minded to yeelde vnto them. The letter which he cauſed to be made, to this effect at Fontaine-bleau, the 3. of February 1552. which *Du Freſne* broght with him into Germany for the ſame end, were of this tenor. That the greatnes of an eſtate Royall, fetching his encreaſe from the enterpriſes which redounded to the profit of many, and aboue all to the ſtrendes of a Crowne, he in like ſorte was euer ſtudied from his infancy in this holy exerciſe, and in a deſire to ſhew himſelfe gratious, and ſuccourable to the whole worlde, and that therefore comming to be King, he had likewiſe vndertaken the protection of the Queene and Realme of Scotland, renued the ancient alliance with the Suizers, and in the end concluded peace with his Brother the King of England, that the Emperour had leſte no craft or wilines, whereby he might breake this peace, to the end that Fraunce might be enwrapped with warre and diſcordes, albeit that hitherto himſelfe was neuer willing to haue begun the broile, or to arme againſt him, ſtanding onely to his own defence. But hauing heard the particular complaintes and greefes of ſundry Princes, Lords, and States of Germanye, as touching the tirannie and violence which the Emperour vſed ouer them, vnder colour of reuniting thoſe whome the diuerſitie of religion had ſeparated and diſioyned, of reforming of abuſes, and ouerrunning the Turke, a common enemye to Chriſtendome. And ſeeing that herein he went about nothing elſe thē to encroche vpon the Monarchie, and make it ſucceſsiue to the houſe of Auſtria: for theſe conſiderations the K. remembring that he was deſcended from the bloud of the ancient *Franks* or *Francons*, iſſued out of Germany, and the perpetuall alliance and amitie, which in all time had bene betweene the Gallique nation and the Germane, the which the Emperour and his Grandfather euer went about to breake, he could doe no leſſe then haue regarde thereunto, and prouide for ſuch miſchiefes as are offred themſelues on that part, as the Emperor ſhuld execute his plats and enterpriſes. His moſt chriſtian Maieſtie, fearing leaſt the alteration of the Germane libertie might proue the ruine of that Nation, and by conſequence a great ſhaking to the glorye and power of the Gaules, which haue Germany for their rampire, hath conſidered in to be a matter almoſt neceſſarie for all Chriſtendomes preſeruation, that they ſhould ioyne their forces together, to tame whatſoeuer he were, any one that ſhould preſume to encroche ought vpon their libeſties: it imported further, that his Maieſtie had ſeene ſo great diſorder among the Princes and States of th'empire, that hee was not able to iudge whether all, or parte of them, had praied him to ſhewe himſelfe a protectour and defendor of this Germane liberty almoſt ſhaken in peeces; that at this time many Princes as well Electors as other, had beſought him to aſsiſt them, and be their helpe in this ſo vrgent a neceſsitie. And in caſe that he would not doe it, he proteſted before God and men, the miſchiefe that was likely to befall them, and of which his Maieſtie onely ſhould

The K. letter to the Electors.

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be the cauſe, greatly iniurying his own reputation, and doing wrong to that which he oweth to the ancient league betweene Gaule and Germany. Beſides that he ſhewed to thoſe Princes, Electors, and others, and to the free Citties, that ſince that *Charles* and his brother had taken vpon them to commaund the Empire, euery thing fell into confuſion and diſorder. And that that was true, a man might ſee with his eye, how he had fleeced the Empire, the Citties, comminalties, and other places, as Gueldres, Vtrech, Cambray, and Conſtance, which he had made become proper to the Houſe of Auſtria: and that by a thouſand deuices he went about to encroche vpon the Archbiſhop of Treues, and the Dukes of Cleues and Witemberg, and cleane to ruine the principalitie of Heſs. The King further complained how that *Charles* and *Ferdinand* had cleane excluded the Embaſſadours of Fraunce, from the Dietts and generall aſſemblies of Germany, where in times paſt they had their place: and that contrary to the liberties of Germany, he would bridle the liberty of the Souldiers, and keep them from ſeruing any in the warres but himſelfe: and that it was not lawfull for them to come vnder his pay, without incurring of condemnation, as breakers of his Edicts, and attainted of treaſon: he blamed the Emperour of Fellonye and crueltye, in cauſing many braue warriers to be cruelly put to death, becauſe they had receiued pay of the K. of Fraunce, he made inſtance of the Colonell *Vgesberg*, whome the Emperour cauſed to be beheadded in his own preſence, of the baniſhmentes and confiſcations decreede againſt Captaine *Recrod*, the *Ryngraue*, *Raffiberg*, and *Schertelin*, againſt whom he ſhewed himſelfe ſo obſtinately and cruelly carried, that hee cauſed to be proclaymed by ſound of Trumpet, 4000. Crownes to whoſoeuer could bring aliue or dead any of theſe Lords, to make a good paſtime with the effuſion of Germane bloud, for the Spaniſh bandes. This diſcourſe and other matters finiſhed, he concluded that he had made an alliance with ſundrye of the Princes of Germanye, and that togither with them hee was reſolued to imploye both his forces and his perſon, for defence of the libertye of whole Germanye: without expecting any other recompence, then the honour, in hauing doone his dutye, and tyed vnto him ſo puiſſant a nation as the Germane, of which this his deſire and pretence, hee gaue aſſurance vpon his oath, taking God to witneſſe, and ſwearing that in the woorde of a King, and faith of a Prince: and that in generall hauing no other intention, then to deliuer all the eſtates of Germanye from the oppreſſion of the Emperour, and of his: in particular, hee pretended to doe it in fauour of his moſt deare and moſt beloued Coſins, *Iohn* Duke of Saxe, and *Philip Landgraue* of Heſs, detained in miſerable ſeruitude by *Charles*, whatſoeuer hee had promiſed or ſworne to the contrarye, thereby to get immortal praiſe as ſomtimes did *Flaminius*, for hauing affranchiſed Greece. And towards the latter end of the letter were theſe wordes: We promiſe you in like ſorte by the almightie God, before all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Chriſtendome, that we will not in any ſorte ſuffer, that either to you in generall, or to any one in particular, of what eſtate or condition ſouer he be, to our knowledge any wrong or iniurie ſhalbe offred. And leſſe will we endure, who carry the title of moſt Chriſtian, that any damage ſhalbe done to the goods and perſons of you, moſt reuerende Prelates, Abbots, and other of the Clergy, as it hath bene wrongfullye giuen out by our aduerſaries: rather we determine to receaue you into our protection and ſafegarde, prouided that you declare your ſelues for vs and our allies: and giue vs ſufficient aſſurance of your intents, hoping for the reunion of the Church, which we attende by the recouering of the publique libertie: to which we will imploy (God willing) all our power, the which we were willing to let you to vnderſtand, moſt reuerend Prelates,

lates, and moſt excellent Princes, and other the eſtates of the holy Empire, to the end you ſhould not be ignorant of the true occaſion of this warre: by which we pretend to purſue the Emperour with fire and ſword, and (albeit very loath) to cut him of as a rotten member from the body of the common wealth, or at the leaſt to enforce him to ceaſe offring you any more iniurie. As touching ought which more particularly may touch vs, or the affaires of the holy Empire, you ſhall know it by our beloued and feal councellor and Embaſſadour *Iohn du Freſne* B. of Bayonne, whome to this end we haue diſpatched, praying you to giue credence vnto him, in whatſoeuer he ſhall deliuer on our parte, and that by him you will aduertiſe vs of your intention. Yeouen at Fountaine-bleau the 3. of February 1552. and in the 5. yeare of our raigne. By this ſo autenticall a promiſe & ſolemne league, the K. made him ſelfe defendor of the Germanes, and was called Father of the countrye, and protector of the Germane nation & holy Empire: and was ſo proclaimed throghout al the imperiall cities, with inſcription & triumphant arcks & ſhewes, recõmending this his curteſie, that of gallantnes of minde, he would at ſo great charge oppoſe himſelf, to ſo happy & puiſſant a Monarch. On the top of this writing printed in the vulgare tongue, there was a hat betweene two daggers, and written about liberty: vnderneath was the K. repreſented, who called himſelfe Protector of Germany, and of the Princes in Captiuitie.

Wheras he ſaid that the Emperor had ordained a price to ſuch as could kil certain of his Colonels, it was thus. *Charles 5.* reuiuing his Edicts, had againe baniſhed out of th'empire the Colonels *Ringraue*, *Recrod*, *Ritteberg*, and *Schertelin*, all in the Kings wages, ſo far as to promiſe 4000. crownes, to whomſoeuer would bring any of them vnto him aliue or dead: for they puſhed hard at the wheele, and after the league was concluded whereof we haue ſpoken, carried ſouldiars into Fraunce.

In the meane ſeaſon *Maurice* hauing lefte his Brother *Auguſtus* behinde him as his Liuetenant in his Countrie, marched into the fielde, and with the *Landgraues* ſonne, who tooke with him *Du Freſne* the K. Embaſſadour, ioyned together the forces of th'aſſociates at Tonouert. Afterwards *Albert* of Brandebourg came vnto them with a great number of foot & horſe, at Koburg, they brought all as they paſſed alongſt vnder their ſubiection, and infringing whatſoeuer had bene ordained by th'emperour, they eſtabliſhed there new officers, and a new kinde of gouernement, conſtraining al to furniſh them with mony; albeit the Emperor, and eſpecially his brother *Ferdinand* beſought thẽ of peace, for which they promiſed their beſt endeuor, notwithſtanding that the emperor cauſed the drum to be ſtroke vp at the foot of the moũtains, for the aſſembling of his army: an occaſion that *Maurice* wẽt to Lincy in Auſtria, to know of *Ferdinand* the conditions of peace, for he was willing to pacifie matters at the wil of th'emperor, who on the other ſide had exhorted by his letters the principall Princes of Germany that they would beſtow ſome paines in quenching this vprore, & aduiſe of ſome means of peace, to which his beſt endeuor ſhould not be wanting: and wheras ſome demanded ſuccor of him, not ſeeing thẽſelues ſtrong enough againſt ſo great a force, he aſſured them of a good hope, anſwering that now they were in tearmes of making peace, which as he hoped ſhuld take good effect: if otherwiſe, he would ſuccour thẽ with his means & the whole cõmon wealth of Germany: Vlme was beſieged 6. daies, & the 19. of April the Princes went to Stoach, a town of Hegouia where in the name of the K. of France 3. months pay was giuen thẽ, according to the accord, and there was giuen for hoſtage on the French part, *Iames* of the houſe of Marche, for the other (to wit the Earle of Nantueil) died on the way. The hoſtages which the Princes gaue vnto the King, were *Chriſtophle* Duke of Megelbourg, and *Philip* ſonne

Hoſtages of Fraunce and Germany.

to the *Landgraue*. The laſt of April the Princes returned to the Danube, ſome leagues belowe Vlme. In the meane ſpace *Albert* of Brandebourg ſet fire on all the Townes and villages of Vlme, and got as much monie as hee was able, afterwardes hee tooke the forte of Helfeſten, ſcituated vpon an high mountaine, and there put garriſon: that done, he rated the towne of Giſſling, which is three leagues from Vlme, with certain other villages about, at 18. thouſand crownes. In the meane while *Maurice* arriued at Lincy, propoſed certaine articles touching the deliuery of his father in law, for the appeaſing of the difference in religion and doctrine, of well and dulye eſtabliſhing the common wealth, of making peace with the K. of Fraunce their companion and alye, of receiuing into grace the baniſhed men, as the *Ringraue* & the other abouenamed, among which was likewiſe *Hedee*, who ſome yeares before had placed himſelfe in the ſeruice of *Maurice*: but the Emperour had not ſet downe any certaine price to him that could take him, were it for feare of offending *Maurice*, or any other occaſion. Vpon that *Ferdinande* (who had with him his ſonne *Maximilian*, his ſonne in law *Albert* of Bauieres, and the Emperours Embaſſadors) made anſwere to his demaundes, that the Emperour made no refuſal to deliuer the *Landgraue*, prouided that they laid aſide their armes, for regarde of religion and the common wealth, it pleaſed him well that they ſhould aduiſe therof in the firſt aſſembly, but it was a matter too noiſome to the Emperor to comprehend therin the K. of Fraunce, and yet that *Maurice* might do wel to know of the K. vnder what cõditions he would appoint it: as for the baniſhed perſons, they night reenter into grace, ſo as they obſerued ſuch conditions as the Emperour would let downe. Further *Ferdinande* demaunded of *Maurice* aide againſt the Turke in Hungarie, after that the peace ſhould be concluded, and that he would not ſuffer any ſouldiers to retire towards the K. of Fraunce. To which *Maurice* anſwered that it was not lawfull for him to conclude of any thing, without the conſent of his companions, ſo as they departed vpon condition that the 26. of May they ſhuld meet againe at Paſſau, which is betweene Ratisbone and Lincy, at the reencounter of Danube and Eno, whether the Princes who had the handling of the matter, ſhould repaire, if not, their deputies furniſhed with ample power: where we will leaue thẽ preparing of peace, and the French of warre, for the maintenance of the Germane libertie, as I will ſhew you by and by, to the end to run as far as into Prouence, where notable accidents preſent themſelues, worthy of the poſterity.

The propoſitions of Maurice.

The reſolution of peace deferred. and wherefore.

I will not paſſe any further without informing you of a moſt notable occurrence which happened in this time amõg the Prouencials, I haue before told you of the Albigeoiſe religion, and how by force the Albigeoiſe quitting of Fraunce, went to inhabit in diuers cuntries of chriſtendom, eſpecially among the mountains of Sauoy, Piemont & Prouence, where continuing the exerciſe of their religion, they were named Vaudois. Now for that in all times they neuer acknowledged the ſupremacye of the Pope, from whoſe doctrine theirs differed in many points, cheefelye after the comming of *Martin Luther*, and publiſhing of his writings, which they couragiouſly embraced, as neerer approching to their ancient doctrine, they were oftentimes accuſed and purſued, as Heretickes and Rebels to the Magiſtrate, ſo as with the zeale of the Cleargie, encreaſing the perſecution vpon all Lutheranes, in the yeare 1540. at the inſtance of the Kings Proctor in the Parlament of Aix in Prouence, the inhabitantes of Merindol, were adiourned in the perſon of certaine named in the arreſt (which wee will recite) to appeare perſonally, according to which adiournement, the within named came to Aix to preſent themſelues to the Court. At the daye aſſigned vnto them, they addreſſed themſelues to the skilfulleſt Aduocates, to aske

The Vaudois of Prouence how, when, by whom, and wherefore perſecuted as Heretiques.

their

their aduise how they were to guide and gouerne themselues in this affaire. The Aduocates and Proctors tolde them, that it was not lawfull for them to giue councel vnto any that were suspected of the Lutherane sect. Notwithstanding one secretly and aparte aduertised them, that they were not to present themselues to the saide Court, except they were ready, and prepared to endure to be burned, yea at little fire, without any forme or figure of triall: for that had already beene concluded of among them. With these speeches the Merindoliens were greatly astonied, and more afterwards when indeed they saw sundry of their sect to be cruelly murthered, hauing no other cause alleadged for their condemnation, but that they had spoken and maintained such matters, as had bene declared Lutherane, by the censures & determinations of the Doctors in Diuinitye, which they of Merindal perceiuing, retired themselues without euer appearing at the assignation, so as defaulte was pronounced against them, by vertue whereof the Court ordained an Arrest, which euer after was called the Arrest of Merindol, the tenor whereof was in this wise. At the demaund the profit and vtility of defaultes obtained by the Kings Proctor Generall, demaunder in case of crime of diuine and humane treason, against *Andrew Menard*, and adiourned to t hree peremptory dayes, not appearing, but making defaulte, the charges and informations considered, made at the request of the K. Proctor generall, the ordinances of arrest of bodies, and for defaulte thereof the adiournementes of peremptorye dayes, being decerned against the said accused, and making defaulte the 30. of Iuly 1540. the said adiournements of 3. peremptory daies being passed, the defaults obtained by the saide Proctor generall, against the said accused, the K. letters patents of the last of May in the said yeare 1540. addressed to the said Court, to proceed against the Vaudois and Lutheranes, and other holding contrary sects, and derogating from the Christian faith and religion: and also other letters pattents of the said Lord, of the 16. of Iuly 1535. and of the last of May 1536. by which he graunted pardon and grace, to such as were charged, accused, and suspected of hereticall errors, so as they would renounce the said errours, and abiure them within six moneths, after the publication of the said letters, the certificat of the witnesses, hauing bene wel examined in the aboue said informations, other charges, informations, & proces, being brought forth by the said Proctor generall, to make it appeare how most notoriously all they of Merindol hold Vaudoise & Lutherane sects, reproued, and contrary to the holy faith & christian religion, withdrawing & concealing many strangers & fugitiues charged to be of the same sect, nourishing and fauoring of them, how in the same place ther is a schoole of errors and false doctrines of the said sects, which dogmatise their said errors and false doctrines, & bookbinders, which imprint and sell books ful of such false doctrine: and also that they of Merindol vnder the ground, and in rocks, haue made caues wherein they retire & hide thẽselues, their complices & goods, and make themselues strong: other information being takẽ by the iudge of Apt, to make it more manifest, how after that *Colin Palleng* named of the plane of Apt, as a sectator of the saide sects, was some daies passed condemned & burned, and his goods confiscate to the K. in despite hereof many of the said people of Merindol, their complices & adherents in great assemblies of six or seuen score men armed with harquebuses, halbeards, swords, and other weapons, brake into the Mill of the saide *Colin Palleng* and *Thomas Palleng* brethren, beat and outraged the Miller, and threatned him and as many as should intermeddle with any goods of any their secte. All this considered, it was saide that the Court hath said and declared, doth say and declare, the said defaultes to haue bene wel obtayned, and for the profit of them, that all the aboue saide accused, and adiourned are true

Arrest of the parlament of Aix.

They were about 24. as well inhabitants of Merindolas, other their neighbours.

defaulters, and ſtubborne, barred of all defence, attainte, and conuinced of the caſes, and crimes laide vnto them: hauing detained, maintained, and followed hereticall ſects and doctrines, reproued, and contrary to the faith and Chriſtian religion, and to the holy prohibitions of the King: and being the retirers and receiuers, the releeuers and fauourers of men charged, and diffamed to holde like damnable doctrines, & reproued ſectes, for remedy whereof, it hath condemned, & doth condemne the aboue named: and in caſe that they cannot be taken and apprehended, from henceforward it hath baniſhed them al, and doth baniſh them out of the Realme, landes & ſignories of the K. with interdiction and prohibition, not once to enter therein vpon paine of the gallowes, and declareth all and euery the goods of the aboueſaid condemned, and baniſhed, their wiues, children & families, acquited and confiſcate to the ſaide L. and alſo prohibiteth all Gentlemen, vaſſales, and other ſubiects of the ſaid Lord, that they receaue not, nor conceale any of the ſaid condemned, their wiues, children, ſeruants, or families, nor giue them any fauour, aide or comforte, in any manner whatſoeuer, vpon paine to ſuch as ſhall doe the contrary of confiſcation of their goods, and other arbitrary paines. And moreouer conſidering that all the ſaid place of Merindol, is the notorious retreate, den, refuge, and forte of people holding ſuch damnable and reproued ſects, the ſaid court hath ordained & doth ordaine, that al the houſes builded in the ſame place ſhalbe pulled down, razed, and laied euen with the ground, and the ſaid place be lefte vnhabitable, ſo that none ſhall reedifie or builde there, without the pleaſure and permiſsion of the K. likewiſe that the Caſtle, and den, rampartes & forts, being in the rockes and woods of the land of the ſaid Merindol ſhalbe ruined, and laid in ſuch ſorte, as none ſhall be able to make there any more reſidence, and that the places ſhalbe vncouered, and the woods where ſuch fortes are cut downe, and grubbed 200. paces about: and further it prohibiteth and forbiddeth, that no parte of the inheritance of the ſaide place ſhalbe let to farme, rente, or otherwiſe, to any of the ſirname or lyne of the aboue condemned. Publiſhed in iudgement at the Parlament of Prouence ſitting at Aix the 18. of Nouember 1540.

Particular iudgements vpon the merite of the arreſt.

Afterwards the court ordained to euery iudge ordinary, of Aix, Tornes, S. Maximia and Apt, the execution of what might concerne him in the Arreſt, which many found very ſtrãge, as a thing done too headily againſt perſons, which neuer were once heard or come to their anſwere, yea ſo cruelly againſt the feminine ſexe, and yong infants, and the execution made againſt all of a whole country, albeit the proceedinges had only bene againſt certain perticular men therin mentioned. Others holding with the arreſt ſaid, that in caſe of Lutherane ſect, iudges were not bound to obſerue either common or ordinary law, ſo as it tended to the rooting out of thoſe, which are ſuſpected to be ſuch. And to ſet forward the execution, the Archbiſhop of Arle, the B. of Aix and others, met oftentimes, ſolliciting the Preſident *La Chaſſane*, and other, to the ſame effect: ſo farre as to aſſure them to furniſhe their charges, and to turne vpon them any the Kings indignation or other mens, who ſaide he might very well be angry at ſuch a deſtruction of his ſubiectes: and that it was rather made to holde in awe the Lutheranes, being ſo great a number of them in Prouence, then to execute it according to the Tenor: and moreouer that it was not definitiue, and that the lawes and ordinances of the Realme doe not permit the execution before other proceedings, yet they preuailed ſo far as he cõdeſcended vnto thẽ, and ſtroke vp the drum to aſſemble the people of Prouence which were commaunded to march, which they did: but they were as ſoon countermanded & diſcharged by the liuely propoſitions among other of a very learned gentleman named *D. Alence*, how that this proceeding

The preſident La Chaſſane differeth the execution of the arreſt, and his reaſons.

Cauſe of delay of the execution.

by way

by way of acte and force, was against all forme and order of iuſtice, and without diſtinction of the culpable, and innocente. Now it was ſo as this Preſident had put in light and publiſhed in print, a booke intituled *Catalogus gloriæ Mundi*, in which by way of paſtime he ſet downe the proceedings which he fained had ſometimes bene helde againſt the Rats, by the officers of the ſpirituall Courte of the B. of Authun, as if it were, that through all the Bailliwick of Lauſſois, there had beene ſuch a quantitye and great multitude of Rats, that they deſtroied and eate the corne of all the Countrey, whereupon it was thought good that ſome body ſhould be ſent to th'official of Authun, to excommunicate theſe Rats, and that thereupon the Official hauing heard the plaintiff of the Proctor fyſcall, ordained before that he would proceede to excommunication, that a warning ſhould bee giuen by order of iuſtice, wherby the Rats ſhould be cited at 3. peremtorye dayes, and for default of apparance then to proceede, &c. The three daies being paſſed, the Proctor preſented himſelfe againſt the Rats, and for fault of apparance obtained default: by vertue whereof he demaunded that they would proceede to excommunication: wherupon it was iudicially concluded, that the Rats ſhould bee prouided of an Aduocate to heare their defence, &c. conſidering it was a queſtion of their totall rooting out and deſtruction. This Gentleman ſeruing his turne herewith, ſaide to the Preſident. Sir, remember the councell which you wrote in a matter of nothing, when as being the K. Aduocate at Authun, you defended the Rats, and declared that the time giuen vnto them to appeare in was to ſhorte, and moreouer how there was ſo many Cats in the villages, as the Rats had ſome reaſon to abſent thẽſelues, &c. with many other rightes & paſſages alleadged by you, and amply handled in your book made at pleaſure. Now ſo it is Sir, as by ſuch a pleading of a matter of vaine importance, you haue gotten the brute to haue rightlye ſet downe the manner whereby iudges ought to proceede in criminall matters: now will you not learne right by your owne booke, which wil euen manifeſtly condemne you, if you proceed any further to the deſtruction of theſe pore people of Merindol? is it not as conuenient that they ſhould haue as much law and equity as you wil giue to Rats? Through theſe perſwaſions the Preſident was ſo much moued, that incontinently he reuoked the commiſſion which was giuen, and cauſed the men of war to retire who was come within one league & a halfe of Merindol, whereof they of Merindol rendred thanks to God, comforting one another, and animating thẽſelues for euer to retain the feare of God, and ſubmit thẽſelues to his prouidence. The brute of this enterpriſe, and execution of the ſaid arreſt together with the patience & conſtancy of them of Merindol, grew ſo great, and eſteemed of ſuch importance, that it was not hid to K. *Francis*, who ſent letters to *Langeay*, who at that time was his lieutenant in the country of Piemont, to make diligẽt enquiry of the truth of the whole matter: whereupon he ſent into Prouence two perſonages, to whom he gaue charge to bring him the coppie of the Arreſt, and to enquire of all that which followed, and likewiſe of the life & manners of them of Merindol, and the reſt which were perſecuted in the country of Prouence, which they did, and counted vnto him the iniuſtice, pilferies, & villanies which as wel the eccleſiaſtical as ſecular iudges dayly vſed againſt thẽ of Merindol & other. And as touching the life & mãners of the ſaid perſecuted perſons, they made report that the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the country of Prouence, affirmed that thoſe which were perſecuted were people of great trauaile, & that ſince 200. yeares they retired out of the country of Piemont, to dwell in Prouence, and had taken to fee farme many hamlets deſtroied by the wars, and other deſolate places: beſides ſo great labourers they were, & ſo good husbands, that in the places where they

Catalogus gloriæ mundi, made by Chaſsane, and printed at Lions.

Guillaume du Bellay, L. of Langeay, lieutenant for the K. in Piemont.

inhabited was great abundance of corne, wine, oyle, hony, almonds, and great cattell, ſo as the whole country about was releeued thereby, yea that before they came to inhabite in the ſaid countrie, Merindol was vſed to be let for foure crownes by yeare, and now it amounteth to aboue 350. crownes yearely rent to the Lord: and that it was euen ſo in Lormarin, and ſundry other places of Prouence, which dad beene deſarts and laide open to theeues, vntill ſuch time as they came thither to inhabite. They found likewiſe by information made in Prouence, that the Merindols & other of the perſecuted, were a peaceable people, beloued of all their neighbours, of faire conditions, keeping their promiſes, and paying wel their debts, without ſute or brabling, charitable, not ſuffring any to be in need, of great almes to ſtrangers, and other poore paſſengers according to their power. The Prouençals affirmed likewiſe, that they of Merindol, and the reſt might very well be diſcerned from all other of the country of Prouence, for that they could neuer be brought ſo much as to name the Deuill, or any waies to ſwear, if it were not in iudgement, or paſſing of ſome contract. A man might likewiſe know them for that if they were in any companye where laſciuious ſpeeche were vſed, or blaſphemy againſt the honor of God, they would incontinently depart out of the ſame: we know not any other matter againſt them, ſauing (ſaid they of Prouence) that when they go to the market or about the towne, they are ſo ſeldom ſeene go into the Minſter, and if they do chance to goe in, they ſay their praiers without regarding of either he or ſhe Saint, and that in the high way as they paſſe by croſſes and images, they vſe no reuerence. The Prieſtes being likewiſe hard as touching the ſame, ſaid that they did not cauſe any Maſſe to be ſaide, nor *Libera me*, nor *De Profundis*, and that they neuer took any holy-water, and if any were giuen them at their houſes, that they would neuer ſay grandmercie to him that brought it, and they perceiued very well that they conned him ſmall thanks, that they neuer went on pilgrimage to gaine pardons, that they neuer made the ſigne of the croſſe when it thundred, but only looked vp into heauen ſighing, and prayed without croſſing themſelues, or vſing any holy-water, that they were neuer ſeene make any offring, either for the liuing or for the dead. In ſumme, *Langeay* following his charge, aduertiſed K. *Francis* of the whole, who hauing fully vnderſtoode it, ſent letters of grace, not onely for ſuch as were condemned vpon default and cõtumacy, but alſo for all other within the country of Prouence, who were either accuſed or ſuſpected for the like caſe, commanding expreſſely the parliament, that from thence forward they ſhuld not in ſuch a caſe proceed ſo rigorouſly as they had done for the paſt. Beholde the letters.

The K. Letter in behalfe of the Vaudois.

FRancis *by the grace of God King of Fraunce, Earle of Prouence, Forcalquier, and countries adioyning, to our welbeloued and feal, the people holding our Court of Parliament in the ſaide Countrie of Prouence, ſitting at Aix: health and loue. As we hauing vnderſtood, how ſome ſwarued from the right way of faith and Chriſtian Religion, whome they call Vaudois, aſſemble themſelues in certaine places of our ſaide Country of Prouence, where they continue in their errours, through the ſeducing of ſome euill ſpirites, whereto it were neceſſary to yeeld good and wholeſome prouiſion, to the ende this vermine may not proceede any further: we make you to know, how we enclining rather to mercye and clemencye, then to the rigour of iuſtice, and willing to aſſaye rather by way of curteſie and perſwaſion, to retire and redreſſe the ſaide wandred perſons from the way of ſaluation, then by rigorous puniſhmentes to make them fall into deſpaire: conſidering eſpecially the great multitude of them, which they ſay are fallen into theſe faults and errours, and that we may hope that through the bounty of God our creator, they wil rather reduce themſelues to the way of ſaluation, thē to be out of the congregation of God, & faithfull chriſtians, and remain continually in the feare of the rigorous iuſtice as well of God as man.*

We

We for these consyderations haue giuen & do giue by these presents grace, pardon and remission as much as in vs lyeth, to the said Vaudois. *And haue acquited thē, & do acquit them of al paines & offences, and of al punishments and condemnation, which might touch them either in person, or goods, by vertue of any iudgement giuen, or to be giuen. Prouided neuertheless, that within three monethes after notise of these presents duly made vnto them, they returne to God our creator, and make such an abiuration, and solemne recantation, as is requisite for all the errors, and false doctrines, into which they haue heretofore fallen: from whence they shall entirely depart, and promise to liue Catholiquely and faithfully, as it is requisite & necessarie for all good Christians, liuing according to the law of God, and the Church. And to this ende, and for to vnderstand, if they will accept of this our present grace and mercy, we will that they shall come or send vnto vs, such a number of persons as shall bee thought fit and ordained by you, in full suertie as well to come, remaine, as returne, without that during the said time any disturbance or hinderance be offred vnto them, in their persons, goods, or manner whatsoeuer. And in case they shall not accept hereof, but remaine in their obstinacy, you shall make such punishment thereof, as you shall thinke the case deserueth: and for the better accomplishing hereof, we haue giuen & doe giue full power, authoritie, commission, and commandement by these presents. By which wee will, and command all our iusticies, officers and subiects, bee they of warre, or otherwise, that to you, your commissioners and deputies, they lend, & giue all aide, fauour and assistance, when & as often as by you and your deputies it shall be required. Yeuen at Fountaine-bleau the eight of February. The yere of grace 1540. and of our Raigne 24.* Thus signed, by the K. Earle of Prouince, Bayard. These letters went for a time suppressed, but in the ende they were signified to certaine prisonners, who were detayned in the prisons of Aix, of whome it was demaunded, if they would take the benefit of those letters, which should bee communicated vnto them, euerie one paying one crowne of the sum for the Coppie. By this meanes the prisonners were enlarged in paying their expences, and promysing to appeare at the Courte, when and as often as they should be demaunded.

Afterwards hauing obtained that they might appeare in Parliament by Proctor, they tooke out a Copie of the proceedings against them, which before thay had not; at the request of the Kings Councell, which pursued them, they sent a confession of their faith, to Cardinall *Sadolet* Bishoppe of Carpentras, and other, and after to King *Francis* the first, taught vnto them (said they) euer since 1200. yeares after the comming of Christ: as their auncients and auncestors witnessed vnto them. The which his ordinarie reader *Castellanus* read vnto him, containing the Articles of God the father creator of all thinges: of the sonne aduocate and intercessor for mankinde: of the holy Ghost, comforter and teacher of the truth of the Church, which they saide to bee assembled of all the chosen, hauing *Iesus Christ* for head: Of ministers: Of the Magistrate, whome they confessed ordayned of God, to punish malefactors, and defend the good, to whom it sufficeth not onely to carrie honour, but also to pay taxes and Impostes, without acception of state whatsoeuer: & that at the example of Christ who did likewise practise it: Of Baptisme, which they maintained to be a visible, and exteriour signe, representing vnto vs the regeneration of the spirite, and mortification of the members: Of the Lordes Supper, which they holde for a thankesgiuing and commemoration of the benefite receiued by Christ: Of marriage, which they saide was not forbidden to any, by how much it was holy, and ordained of God: Of good workes, wherein they ought to employe themselues continually: Of mans traditions, which they ought to shunne: protesting, in some that the rule of their faith, was the olde and new Testament: and that they beleiued al, which was contained in the Apostles Creede. In conclusion they besought the King to giue credit to their

Confession of the Vaudois faith.

ſaying, offering themſelues to proue it falſe, if ought elſe had beene otherwiſe reported againſt them, whenſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe him to giue them audience. In the meane time the Biſhoppe of Aix, and of Cauaillon, purſued the execution of the arreſt; ſo as it was ordered by the Court of Parliament of Prouence, that according to the Kings letters pattents, maſter *Iohn Durandy*, a Councellor of the Court with a ſecretarie, and the Biſhop of Cauaillon, with a doctor in Diuinitie, ſhould goe to the place, and perſwade the inhabitants of Merindol, and cauſe them to abiure thoſe errors, which moſt plainely they ſhould make appeare vnto them, and in caſe, that conuicted by the word of God to haue followed and lyued in errors, and hereſies, they would not make recantation, that then of all that had beene doone, Verball proces ſhould be made, to proceede againſt them as the Court ſhould thinke good. But as the Church-men were in hand with them to make them recant their doctrine, they refuſed, offering to proue it, by the word and truth thereof, and offering to renounce if they could be proued heretiques thereby. They were queſtioned with, and aunſwered ſimply: ſo as by little the perſecution, not the hatred ceaſed againſt them, eſpecially vpon the ſuddaine death of *Caſſane*, the Preſident, of *Iohn De Roma* Monke a ſeuere inquiſitor, who woulde fill Bootes with hot ſcalding greaſe, and after make them to pull them on. Of which and ſuch like behauiors, *Francis* the ſecond being aduertiſed, gaue commaundement by his letters patrents to the Parliament, that hee ſhold be arreſted, & his proces made. But hauing warning therof he fled to Auignon, where being ryfled of his owne ſeruants, and from great wealth become a begger, he was tormented with ſo horrible griefes, that nothing could yeeld him any reſt. So as, no man being able to endure the ſtincke of his vlcers, he deſired nought, but to dye, which he did. In the ende *Iohn Minier*, of Oppede, Preſident, neare to Merindol, and Cabriers, (the inhabitants whereof had at an other time made heade againſt him, and put him to his heeles) hauing giuen the King to vnderſtand, that as many of them being aſſembled as came to fiftene thouſand, they were gon in armes to take Marſeilles, and to Cantoniſe it, beſides that all the Countries round about were in great danger of being loſt, being all Lutherans, hee obtained letters, to enable him to execute the arreſt, by meanes of the Cardinall of Tournon, and other, ſo as he prepared himſelfe to the execution of the arreſt againſt Cabrieres, Merendol, and twentie two Villages. Whereof they being aduertiſed, repayred againe to King *Francis*, in the yeare 1544. to whom they gaue to vnderſtand how from the yeare 1540. his Maieſty hauing perceiued the euident oppreſſion, and nullitie of the ſaide arreſt of contumacie, had cauſed the execution thereof to be differred, forbidding there ſhould be any more proceeding in ſuch rigour. And how notwithſtanding many had oppreſſed them, and ment to oppreſſe them more, and more, briefly they preſented vnto him the whole proceedings as aboue ſaid. An occaſion that he reuoked the execution of the arreſt of contumacie, and all ſuch proceedings as had beene before doone, and agreed by the Parliament as well from which, as from his Proctor generall, hee tooke away the Coniſance of the cauſe, vntill he might be informed by one of the maſters of requeſts of his houſe, and a D. in Diuinitie of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, whome hee had deputed to goe to thoſe places, to the end they might well and amply inquire of the life, faith, and conuerſation of thoſe of Merindol, and the reſt. This reuocation was publiſhed in Parliament, and inſinuated to the Proctor general in the end of October following. The Parliament at the inſtigation of Oppede, commaunded *Philip Courtin* Huſſer of the Parlament, to make great ſuite for the obtaining of the K. letters to execute the arreſt, and notwithſtanding the interdiction, the Articles and inſtruc-

The proceedings vſed in the proces of them of Merindol.

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ons were made by the ſaid preſident, with a requeſt ſigned by the Proctor generall; yea the purſute was made for money, which had beene ordained by the Parliament, for the charges of the ſuite: Whereupon *Courtin* did ſo much by his diligence, and ſubtiltie, that thorough the fauour of the Cardinall of Tournon, he obtained letters in the moneth of Ianuary following, vnder the name of the K. Proctor generall, from the priuie councell, to put in execution the arreſt of contumacy, notwithſtanding the reuocation aboue mentioned.

Iohn Minier cheefe Preſident, hauing receiued the letters ſent vnto him in Ianuary 1543. which he concealed vntill the 12. of Aprill, aſſembled the Court, and there recited the K. letters, by which it was commaunded that the arreſt ſhould be put in execution, ſo as certaine of the Parliament were appointed Deputies for the execution. *Minier* promiſed to aide them, for becauſe in the abſence of *Grignan* he was leſte his Lieutenant, in the gouernement of Prouence, he had before at the K. commaundement leuied troupes of men of warre, to goe againſt the Engliſh, but he ſerued his turne with them againſt theſe. Moreouer he had ſent a commaundement to Marſeiles, Aix, and Arle, vnder great paines to all ſuch as caried armes, that they ſhould put themſelues in readines, and march at their firſt call: there came likewiſe ſuccours vnto him out of the Countrye of Auignon, a poſſeſsion of the Churches. Their firſt courſe notwithſtanding was not againſt Merindol, but ouer the Countrye neere to the towne of Pertuis, ſo as the 15. of April Minier accompanied with a number of Gentlemen and Captaines, came to Cadenet, in the time that ſome of his companie ouerrunne two Villages neer vnto Durance, where practiſing a thouſand pillages and inſolences, they put all to the fire and ſworde, except a great number of Cattell which they carried away with them, there was no leſſe done in other places. They of Merindol ſeeing all on a fire round about them, preſented a ſupplication to *Minier*, crauing onely liberty to depart in their ſhirts with their wiues and children into Germany, but hauing for anſwere that he would ſend them all to inhabite in hell among the deuils, they abandoned their houſes, and fled into the woods, paſſing that night neere the Village of S. Falaiſe in great fright. The inhabitants of the Village were already determined to flie: likewiſe the B. of Cauaillon vice-legate of Auignon, had giuen charge to ſome Colonell to make a ſhort diſpatche of the worlde, ſo as the next morning they got ſomewhat further into the wood, for there was euery where danger throughout: and *Minier* had forbidden vpon paine of death, that no ſoule ſhould helpe them, but that they ſhould be all alike ſacked whereſoeuer they were found. The like forbidding was made in all places round about, bordering vpon the Popes territorie: beſides that the Biſhops defraied a great parte of th'army: The poor paiſants then marched on through a monſtrous vile way, carrying their little children vpon their ſhoulders, in their armes, or in cradles, yea ſome of their wiues following thē great with child. Being arriued at the place apointed, they found many who had ſaued thēſelues there, after hauing loſt all: but ſoon enough newes was broght them, how *Minier* had gathered together all his men of warre to come and followe them: This was towards night, an occaſiō that after a whiles cōſultation, they took a ſodain and an haſtie deliberation, and for that they were to paſſe by hard and rude wayes, they left their wiues, daughters & children, with ſome other, among which was one of their Miniſters: th'other went on to Muſsi, as they had agreede, hoping the enemy would take ſome pitie of ſuch a multitude, without weapon, and vnable to defend it ſelfe: Euery man may well geſſe what groanes and ſighes, what teares, what imbracings they made one with another at the parting, hauing trauailed ſore all night, and

The warlie exploit of Minier vpon the execution of arreſt.

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in the end gained the toppe of the Mountaine of Lebron, they could diſcouer nothing but a number of villages and farmes all on fire. *Minier* hereupon deuided his troupes into two partes, and for that he had vnderſtanding by a ſpye which way they of Merindal were gone, he went to the village and ſent the reſt to followe them. Before that theſe men had entred the forreſt, a certaine *Quidam* of pittie being moued, ranne before, ſo as being at the brim of the Rocke, and hauing caſt two ſtones where he geſſed thoſe people reſted, cryed out to them that had repoſed themſelues, that they ſhould flye to ſaue their liues, albeit that he no waies perceiued them. At that inſtante two of thoſe that were gone to Muſsi, gaue them warning that their enemyes were comming, and then they made the Miniſter runne awaye, with the reſt which were left to garde the women, ſhewing to them a high way throughout the Forreſt, by which they might eſcape: hardly were they departed, but that the ſouldiers were come with faire naked ſwordes, and great howtes, crying that all ſhould paſſe by the point and edge of their ſwordes: notwithſtanding they put none to the ſworde. But after many inſolences, they led away the women bare both of victual and mony, hindred of doing worſe by a Capten of horſe, who by chãce paſſed by, and threatned that they ſhould dy if they did the contrary: but commaunded them with all ſpeed to repaire to *Minier*, ſo as the enterpriſe was cleane broken of: in ſorte that hauing left the women, which were aboue 500. they ruſhed on vpon the butyn, and cattell. *Minier* in the meane time came to Merindol, and finding it cleane voide of inhabitantes, pilled and burned it, after an horrible execution done of whatſoeuer was found therin, for hauing met with a yong lad, he made him be tied to an Oliue tree, and ſlaine with harquebuſe ſhot: from thence he went to the towne of Cabrieres, battred it with Canon, and by meanes of Captaine *Poulin*, perſwaded the inhabitants to open vnto him the gates, and yeeld themſelues, promiſing thẽ that they ſhould ſuſtain no iniury: but anon after that the Souldiers became maſters, euery one was cut in peeces, without regarde of age, ſexe, religion, alliance, neighbourhoode, or any other reſpect, ſome fled into the temple, other into caues of the caſtle, but they were all drawne thence, and ledde through a medowe, where being ſtripped bare, they paſſed all by the ſharp of the ſworde, not onely men, but women, and of them ſome great with childe: afterwards *Minier* made about 40. women to be encloſed into a barne full of hay & ſtraw, where he ſet it a fire, and as ſome ſtroue to quench it with the winde of their gownes, and preuailed nought, other ran to the windowes of the barne, into which they were wont to pitch in the haye, with intent to haue leaped downe: but being driuen back from thence with blowes of Pikes and Clubs, they were all burnt the 21. of April. After that *Minier* ſent one parte of the armye againſt La Coſte, they ſo no ſooner were departed, then thoſe were found which were thruſt together in the caue of the Caſtle of Cabrieres, then all cryed out againſt thoſe that were ſhut in the caue, and calling back thoſe which were gone to La Coſte, they made likewiſe as ſtrange a ſhambles, without reſeruing any one: eight hundred were counted for dead, as well without as within: ſundry infantes which were ſaued were rebaptiſed, that done *Minier* ſent his troupes to La Coſte: the Lord whereof had already perſwaded the Citizens to carry all their armes into the Caſtle, and to raze the towne in foure places, promiſing vpon his credit with *Minier*, that no iniury ſhould be offred vnto them, he was beleeued and obeyed: but departed from thence to beſeech *Minier*, he was not farre vntill he found the army, which ſpared not to paſſe forward: at the firſt entrye they did nought to the towne, but the next morrow they gaue a more freſh aſſaulte, vpon a few that defended it, ſo as hauing ſet the fanebourges on fire, they tooke it at

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their ease, because that many that were fearefull slunke away, and slipped downe by ropes, abandoning their companies, and the place ordained for their defence. In summe, the towne being taken and pilled, with great murther of all such as were met there, they runne all to a garden neere vnto the Castle, where without any regarde they enforced the wiues, and maides which were retired thither with a great fright: yea hauing shut thē in a whole day and a night, they intreated them so inhumanely, as such as were with childe and the yong maides died presently after. In the meane time they of Merindol and their companions, wandring through the woods and rockes, if they were taken, as soone slaine, or sent to the Gallies, sauing those which died of famine. About 25. were hidden neere vnto the towne of Mussi, within a caue, but being disclosed they were all as well strangled as burned, There was not then any kinde of cruelty that was not practised, some but very few escaped the slaughter, who saued themselues at Geneue, and places bordring vpon it. Now for that the K. before continued the persecutions and burning paines against the Lutheranes, In the moneth of May the Protestant Princes of Germany, besought the K. by letters written from Ratisbone, for his subiects who were so researched & pursued for the same faith which they helde. And for that some made their owne peace, redeeming their life, their goods, and estates, by abiuration of their faith, they besought him that that condition might be taken away, declaring how dāgerous a thing it was so to wound and make seruile the consciences of men. But the brute of so strange an effusion of bloud animated them the more, and offended many, which greatly abated the credit which the King had gotten throughout Germanye: no lesse then in Zuizerland where the reformed ceased not as neerest neighbors, to be mediators towards the K. that he would take pittie of th'escaped: but for a full answere, he sent vnto thē word, that for iust cause he had commaunded that execution to be done, and that they had no more to doe with what he did in his owne country, or what punishment of iustice he made ouer his malefactors, then he had to intermeddle with their affairs. See now how the will and nature of men changing with the affaires and reportes: King *Francis* ordained a punishment for the Authors of this tragedie: how his sonne *Henry* carryed himselfe in the execution thereof, and all that which followed, to serue for most remarqueable occurrences, which may possible happen to any estate.

The princes of Germany write to the King of Fraunce in fauour of such of his subiects as were persecuted.

That which moued *Henry* 2. King of Fraunce, to publishe his letters patentes, in forme of adiournement, against those of the Parlament of Prouence, who had shed the bloud of the inhabitants of Cabriere and Merindol, and other neighbours about, was that his Father King *Francis* at the point of death, touched with remorce and greefe, that he could not before he died make a punishment in example of such, as vnder his name & authority, had wrought so strange cruelties against his subiectes of Prouence, charged his son with great obtestations, not to defer the punishment, how otherwise God who leaueth no such outrages and lackings vnpunished, would worke the reuenge, and so much the more (saith he) as this affaire toucheth our honour among all nations, it cannot be better repaired, then in making all them suffer, who in such cruelty abused the dutie of their charge, without sparing great or small, weake or mightye: that by their example all men hereafter might take heede of any the like enterprises. This was the occasion why King *Henry* decreede by his letters patents as followeth.

This touch at the poynt of death, leaueth neither King nor subiect vnsought, without any respect: an especiall warning to all princes.

Henry

Letters pattents against the executioners of the arrest in *Prouence*, vpon *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*.

HEnry *by the grace of God King of Fraunce, to our first Hussier greeting: Our Proctour in our great Councell, appointed by vs Proctour in causes after mentioned, hath caused to be deliuered and tolde vnto vs, how in the yeare 1540. the 18. day of Nouember, there was a certaine iudgement giuen in our Court of Prouence, which they would call and terme the arrest of Merindol, by vertue of which 14. or 16. particular men therin named, inhabitantes of Merindol, stoode condemned for defaulte and contumacy, to be burned as heretiques and Vaudois: and in case they could not be apprehended, to be burned in picture, and their wiues, infants, and maidens, were defeated and abandoned: and in case they could not be taken, they were then pronounced banished, and their goods confiscate, a matter notoriously iniust, against al law & reason. And albeit that the inhabitats of the said Merindol were neuer heard nor called to their answer, yet by the said iudgemēt it was set down that al the houses of the said Merindol should be throwne down, & the town made vnhabitable. And in the yere 1544. the said inhabitats made their repair to the late K. of famous memory our father last deceased, whom God absolue, & others who were likewise holde for heretiques, declaring how against all truth they were tearmed Vaudois, and heretiques. They obtained letters of our said late Lord and father, whome they had let to vnderstand, how they were dayly troubled and molested by the Bishops of the Countrie, and by the Presidents and Councellors of our Parliament of Prouence, who had already sued for their confiscations and landes for their kinsfolkes, minding hereby to driue them cleane out of the Countrye: beseeching our saide late Father, that he would search out the truth. Whereupon it was ordained, that a Maister of Requests and a Doctor of Diuinity, should goe downe to those places, and throughly enquire of their maner of liuings: and for that the said Lord could not so readily send thither, he should in the meane time take into his owne hands, all such suites as were depending by reason thereof: and forbid all cognoissance thereof to the people of our courte of Parliamēt of Prouence, the which euocation was signified to our said court the 25. of October following: which standing much discontented with the contents thereof, sent to the K. an Hussier to pursue letters of reuocation, which were obtained the first of Ianuary after, by which vpon information made to the late Lord the King, how they had beene in armes, in great assemblie, forcing townes and Castles, pulling prisoners out of prisons, And rebellions to all iustice, keeping it in subiection, the saide late Lord permitted them to execute the Arrestes giuen against them, reuoking the saide letters of euocation, in regarde of the relapse hauing not abiured: And ordained that all such as should be found charged and culpable of heresie, and the Vaudoise sect, should be extermined. And that to that end the Gouernour of the Countrie, or his Lieuetenant, should therto employ his forces, wherby iustice might be obeyed: which letters were not signified but kept vntill the 12. of Aprill following, which was the day of Quasimodo, on which day after dinner, the first President Maister* Iohn Minier, *caused the said Court to assemble, and caused our Proctour to present the saide letters, and require execution of the saide pretended Arrest, of the 18. of November 1540. of which no mention was made in the said letters, but only in generall termes of arrests giuen against the Vaudois: and hereuponit was set downe, that the said pretended arrest should be executed according to the formes and tenner, making like errour as before. And that the saide Commissioners already depited, should goe to the saide place of Merindol, and other places requisite and necessary for the execution thereof, and that all those that were of the saide sect should be extermined, and such as were taken prisonners should be led into the Gallyes for a prison: there were appointed for the executioners, Maister* Francis de la Fond, *second President,* Honore de Tributiis, *and* Bernard de Badet *Councellors, with whome likewise, M.* Iohn Minier *President, went as Lieuetenant to our saide late Father, to giue as hee sayde a strong hand onely to iustice, and to that should be needefull thereunto: and carried with him*

men

men and artillerie, who neuer keeping the way to Merindol, went to Cadenet, in which place the said Minier held a councel in the said quality of lieutenant of our said late father, and vpon that they said it was reported vnto thē, how there were a great nūber of the said inhabitants in arms, who made a bulwark without any further inquiry, they concluded to go assaile them, to break the said Bulwark, and kill them all if they resisted, and if they fled, that their houses should be burned, distributing to the Captains sundry villages to be burned, & consequently ransacked, albeit there was no mention made at all thereof in the said pretended arrest, which they would seeme to execute, nor any of the said inhabitants either in general or particular, at any time called to their answere. Sundry villages were distributed to Captain Poulin appertaining to the Lady of Cental, who had both aduertised him, and also the said Minier, how her Senates were good labouring men, and good christians, and not of the Vaudois sect, praying them not to offer vnto thē any iniury, offring to make them submit thēselues, and obedient to iustice, whereof the said Poulin aduertised the said Minier, President, and how hee had sent vnto him a man of the long roabe to know what he should do. Notwithstanding without hauing any regarde at all to the saide aduertisements, there were 22. townes burned & pillaged, without any inquisition or cognoisance of cause of those which were culpable or innocent, & without any resistance made of the inhabitants parte, or any bulwarke, and therwith all the goods of the said inhabitants had bene pilled, and many women & maidens forced, and other execrable crimes committed; that done, the said pretended Commissioners went to Merindol, where they found onely one poore boy of 18. or 20. yeares of age, who had hid himselfe, whome they caused to be tied to an oliue tree, and killed with harquebuses shot; then pillaged the towne, and burned it, and that done they went to Cabrieres, where were slaine men, women, and maidens rauished, euen within the Church: great number of men bound together, and carried into a Medow, and there cut in peeces, and sundry other most execrable cases committed by the said Minier there assistant. About La Coste were many men slaine, women & maidens rauished, to the number of 25. within one grange, and infinite pillages committed for the space of more then 3. weekes: and the said Minier imagining the better to be able to couer the said cruelties and inhumanities, made a commission narratiue, how he was aduertised that they had as well pillaged and sacked the good as the bad Christian and Vaudois, by which he cōmanded to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, a forbidding to pill any saue such as leaue should be giuen against, by our said late Father, or himselfe. Also he set forth another cōmission in these termes; yee Captaines and Souldiers, who haue in charge to ruine and waste the persons & goods of the Vaudois, touch not the remnants of the L. of Faulcon, who was his kinseman, forbiddance was also made by sound of trumpet, as well by the authoritie of the said Minier, as of the sayde de la Fond, not to giue either to eate or to drinke to any of the Vaudois, without knowing who they were, and that vpon paine of the Tibbet: by reason whereof many women, children, and olde people were found along the waies eating and feeding vpon grasse like brute beasts, and in the end dead for extremitie of hunger. After the said cruelties and inhumanites thus committed and done, they sent cōmissioners to informe who they were which were suspected of heresie, and made a number be caried to the Gallies, by forme of prison, where a great parte since is dead: other their inditements being made, they enlarged quousque, sauing vnto our Proctor more amply to informe, and other they condemned in little fines, other they purely and simply absolued, and chiefly the subiects of the Lady Cental, as appeareth by the iudgements produced: and yet all their houses should remain burned, and their goods pillaged: for this cause the said first & second Presidents, and the said de Tributijs & Badet councellors, seeing how euilly they had proceeded, and contrary to the tenor of the said letters of our said late Father, which required cognoisance of the cause, seeing also how the people of our said parlament of Prouence, had giuen iudgement contrary to al right & reason, the better imagining to be able to couer their faultes, assembled together the 5. of May following, and vpon the speech & report of the said Minier & de la Fond,

they gaue another iudgement vpon the pretended arreſt, that the execution begun ſtuld be perfected, and that to this end ſhould be ſent of the cõmiſſioners of our ſaid Court, into eche of the benches, to make their proces, and declare the confiſcations of goods, and againe the 20. of the ſaid moneth & yeare they againe aſſembled, & gaue an other iudgemẽt according to the precedents, containing ſundry heads ſtill thinking to couer their faults; and knowing that the complaint was come as far as to the eares of our ſaid late Father, they ſent the ſaide de la Fond towardes him, who vnder his information and proces verbal, obtained letters yeouen at Arques the 28. of Auguſt 1545. approuing vnder hand the ſaid execution, neuer hauing let our ſaid late father to vnderſtand the truth of the fact, but ſuppoſed by thoſe letters, that al the inhabitants of ſuch towns as were burned, were condemned and adiudged for heretiques & Vaudois: by which letters they were commanded to receaue to mercy all ſuch as would repent and abiure: and ſince we being aduertiſed of the truth of the fact, how, without any diſtinction between the culpable and the innocent, contrary to all forme & order of iuſtice, and without any iudgment or condẽnation before giuen againſt them, they proceeded by way of fact, and of force, whereupon thoſe caſes and crimes aboueſaid enſued, had appointed cõmiſſioners to informe, and that the criminall proces ſhould be made to the ſaid Minier, la Fond, de Tributijs & Badet, in the proceeding to whoſe iudgements, our Proctor did require from the firſt day cõ miſſion to call the people of our court of parlament of Prouence, to come to anſwer by Proctor or Sindic, to ſuch concluſions as he purpoſed to take againſt them, for the iniquitie & occular error of the ſaide iudgements, which were the cauſes of the ſaid crimes, cruelties & iniquities, vpon which there hath not as yet beene done him any right: and ſeeing that they paſſed further in iudgement of proces, without therupon doing any right, doubting he would ſay that he was not the appellant, he preſented a requeſt to the Commiſſioners choſen by vs Iudges of the ſaide proces, to the end hee might be receaued appellant, of the execution of Merindol, and of that which enſued thereon. And for that to receaue our ſaide Proctor appellant of an approued execution, by an arreſt or iudgement of a courte of Parlament, depended onely of our authority, and the power and commiſſion of our ſaid commiſſioners ſtretched not ſo far, and for that it grew alſo a caſe wherein iudgement was to be giuen againſt one of the courts of our parlaments: we willed & ordained that our court of parlament of Paris (which is the firſt and principall court of all our ſouereigne courts) ſhould haue the proceeding and triall thereof: and to that end we made our letters patents be diſpatched the 21. of Ianuary, but it was found, how the very day that the ſaid firſt appellations (which were of the ſaide concluſion to burne, made at Cadenet, of the execution done in the perſon of him which was ſhotte therough with harquebuſies, of the forbiddance to giue no foode) were pleaded by our ſaide Proctor before our ſaid Commiſſioners, and that in pleading of the ſaid appellations, the ſaid Preſedents, Minier, de la Fond, de Tributijs & Badet, conſellors, ſtood principally to the points not to receiue, ſaying that they were the arreſts & iudgments of our court of parlament of Prouence, & that by the letters pattents of our ſaid late Father, the ſaid execution was allowed, ſoas he could not be receaued appellant, but that his requeſt and appellations were ioyned to the proces criminall, for that cauſe he preſented another requeſt, to be receaued appellant of the ſaid iudgments or pretẽded arreſts, as giuen by ſuch as were no iudges, without euer hearing of the parties, vpon ſimple requeſts of the Proctors of our ſaid late father, without cognoiſance of the cauſe, and containing vnrighteous errors, cruelties & inhumanities, perſiſting to that, that according to our ſaid letters pattents, the ſaid appellations might be pleaded in the great Chamber of our Parlament of Paris, &c. For this cauſe it is that we after hauing vnderſtoode the quality of the fact, which is in queſtion, the ſcandale which was and is not only throughout this Realme, but alſo ſtrange countries, and to the end that in like ſorte as ſo miſerable executions hauing bene done in the ſaid places, were publiquely done, ſo they may be publiquely repaired, if there be any faultes, and the trueth knowne not onelye to our Iudges, but alſo to all our Subiectes and Strangers, who may ſtand therein awiſſe conceaued, as well as for the dutie of iuſtice, and preſeruation of the

memory of our saide late L. and Father, haue by these presents, of our certaine knowledge, full of puissance and royall authoritie, euoked, and doe euoke to our parson, the instance of the request made by our said Proctor of the Queenes Chamber, presented before the Iudges of the said chamber, and the appellations formed by him, of the executions done in the said place of Merindol, and other Villages, vpon which the parties haue already bene heard before the saide Iudges, appointed to councell, and ioyned to principall proces, to be anew pleaded, as the saide requests and appellations being inseparable, with the request and appellations a new cast in by our Proctor, with the request likewise presented, tending to the end to be receiued, to carry himselfe for appellant of the pretended iudgements and executions of the saide letters pattentes aboue specified, and all the whole we haue by these said presents sent back, and do send back into our Court of Parlament of Paris, in the saide great Chamber of pleading, on the 20. day of May next comming, there for to be publiquely and with doore wide open pleaded, and the parties being heard, to ordaine therein what shall seeme fit by reason.

So we command and ordaine by these presents that the people of our Parlament of Prouence, together the saide Minier, De la Fond, Badet *and* Tributijs, *and others to whome it may appertain, be cited at the saide day, to our said court of Parlament at Paris, in the said great chamber of pleading, to maintaine and defend their said iudgements and executions, and of the said letters pattentes, and the proceedinges and other wronges and greeses, and to see them repaired, corrected and amended, if neede so require; if not, to proceede further according to reason, and to adiourne at the saide day the saide people of our Parlament of Prouence, to appeare in our saide Court by Sindic or Proctor, who shalbe appointed by them to defend the saide appellations, and answere to our saide Proctor, and likewise the said* Minier, De la Fond, de Tributijs & Badet, *and other the aduerse parties of our saide Proctor if any there be; commaunding them that they be and appeare, at the saide daie in our saide Court, if they see it needfull, and that the saide appellations may any waies touch them or appertaine vnto them: making vnto them such inhibitions and forbiddances as are in such cases required, to which our said Court of Palament of Paris, in the said chamber of pleading, of our speciall grace, full of puissance and royall authoritie, we haue (as is aboue saide) attributed, and do attribute, the cognoisance and decision of the saide appellations, notwithstanding any establishing of our saide Parlament of Prouence, or any appointments giuen by our said Commissioners, vpon the request of our said Proctor, ioyned to the criminal proces, with the first appellations already pleaded, wherein we wil not preiudice our said Proctor, and what other edicts soeuer, comandements, restraints & forbiddances to the contrary notwithstanding: from which, wherin it shalbe needfull, we haue derogated and doe derogate of our said puissance & authority by these said presents, for such is our pleasure. Teouen at Montereau the 17. of March, in the yeare of grace 1549. of our Raigne the 3. So by the King.*

Sealed with the great seale of yellow waxe, vpon a single Lable.

These letters of euocation being signified, and the Parlament of Paris possessed of the cause, there appeared in person the President *Minier* L. of Opide, *de la Fond, de Tributijs* & *Badet*, and the ouerplus of the Parlament of Aix by a Proctor. The cause was pleaded in the great Chamber of the Pallace, by the most famous aduocates of that time, *Riant* was for the King, *Robert* for the Iudges of Prouence, *Auberi* for the of Merindol & Cabrieres, an other for the Lady of Cantal, to the number of 12. & their pleadings and declarations endured a long time, more then 50 hearings. Euery man ran thither out of al parts to hear such matters as neuer were heard the like, for excesse of cruelty: and albeit the Aduocates of the Plaintifes parte did not recite the tenth parte of that which was, yea rather dissembled the cause for which so much innocent bloud had bene shed, yet so it was as all men were ramished with a kinde of astonishment, hearing so great and strange matters, an occasion that euery man expected

a laſt iudgement worthy of the matter, after ſuch and ſo long pleadinges, but in the end from ſo high mountaines there can come out but a very little ſmoke, which alſo very ſuddenly doth euaporate it ſelfe into a clowde out of the ſight of men: the Preſident *Minier* cheefe in all accuſations, hauing beene a long time detained priſonner, attainted, and conuinced of whatſoeuer they would lay to his charge, in the end eſcaped their hands: the Aduocate *Guerin* being hanged at Paris, *Minier* found meanes not only to eſcape, but alſo to be reſtored to his former eſtate, after hauing promiſed and aſſured, that he would cleanſe Prouence of theſe new Chriſtians, yea & that all his life long he would be reuenged, for that by their occaſion he was driuen ſo neere his neck verſe. Let vs now look back into the deſſeines of K. *Henry*, who prepared himſelf to lead an army, for the Proteſtants ſuccour of Germany againſt the Emperour.

Guerin hanged at paris.

The voiage of the army of Henry King of Fraunce, for the ſuccour of the proteſtant princes of Germany, againſt the Emperour Charles the fifth.

K. *Henry* 2. hauing aſſigned day and place to ſuch forces as hee would conduct to the ſuccour of the Germanes againſt the Emperour, which amounted nere to 25000. Fantaſſins of French, 7000. Lanſeknights, 1200. men of armes, with their archers, two thouſand light horſe, and as many harquebuſiers, mounted vnder the Duke *D'aumalle*, went to holde his bed of iuſtice in the Parlament of Paris, where hauing admoniſhed euery man of his duty, aduertiſed his ſubiects of his enterpriſe, & made a number of ordinances as well for the reformation of iuſtice, as the diſcipline of war, and ordained the Admirall D'Anebaut Viceroy throughout Fraunce, cauſing the Conſtable to march before with the auantgarde, he paſſed on his way to Ginuille, where the Dowager of Lorraine preſented her ſelfe, to yeelde her ſelfe with her ſonne, and the whole Duchie into his protection, and alſo to excuſe her ſelfe of ſome intelligences, which it was reported ſhe had with his enemies; afterwards ſhe retired herſelfe to Blamont: from Toulh the Conſtable auanced the army right to Metz, the deputies wherof had vntil that time debated of their ancient priuiledges, confirmed by a number of Emperours and Kinges of Fraunce, offring notwithſtanding victualles to the whole army, without that any other ſauing the K. with certaine Lordes might enter in: but the Conſtable who as the ſtronger, would not debate ſuch pretences, by any other lawes, then the right of the Cannon, hauing limited vnto them a day for their laſt anſwere, reſolued to enter therein with 2. Enſignes of 600. men, which being doubled, they were found ſo long, that the firſt which were entred had meanes enough to repel the inhabitants, whilſte that the reſt entred peecemeale to aſſure that Towne, the tenth day of Aprill to the Flower de lys: in the meane time that the King entred in armes within Toulh, followed with his whole traine, the Heralds of armes clad in their Crimſon veluet coates, azured, thick embrodered with Flowers de lys, with their Trumpets, Clarions, after hauing ſworne to maintaine their priuiledges, and reformed the gouernement and pollicie at his pleaſure, he aduanced forwards to Nancy cheefe Cittie of Loraine, where came forth to meete him, the yong Duke, cõducted by the earle of Vaudemont his vnckle, & ſundry others. The K. hauing made his entry as at Toulh, ordained there *Vaudemant* Gouernour of the Cuntry, to the profite of the Duke, and hauing prouided him of his eſtate, he ſent him vnder the charge of *Bordillon* to Reimes, where were the Dolphin and his brethren: after going further, and approching neere Metz, he ſaw his army in this manner. There were three ſquare battailes of Fanterie, of which the firſt was of the olde enſignes, paied & entertained in the time of the late K. for the wars of Piemont, Champagne, & Boulogne, with other new companies, leuied in the beginning of theſe warres (without cõprehending therin any ſouldiers of marke, or yong gentlemen who were there for their pleſure and without paye) to the number of betweene 15. and 16000. men, where-

Priuiledges of Metz debated.

Metz, Toulh, Verdun, Nancy, &c. taken by the French.

Priuiledges of the townes maintained.

The armie of Fraunce repreſented in the fielde, and firſt the Fanterie.

of be-

of betweene nine and ten thouſand were armed with Corſelets, Bourguinots with beuers, vambraces, gauntelets and taſes, downe to the knee, carrying long ſtaues, and the greateſt parte a Piſtoll at their girdle: and betweene a fiue and ſixe thouſand harquebuſers, armed with iacks and ſleeues of mayle, with rich Morions, and of goodly workemanſhip, a harquebuſe or handgun, bright, well poliſhed and light, their furniture exquiſite and braue, the reſt being armed according to the qualitie of their perſons. The ſecond battaile was of Gaſcoines, Armignacs, Baſques, Bearnois, Languedois, Perigourdins, Prouenceaux, and Auuergnacs: making ſhew betweene ten and twelue thouſand men, experte, and vſed to the warre, as well at Sea as land, whereof betweene eight and nine thouſand carried long ſtaues, armed with corſelets, and almane riuets, and two or three thouſand harquebuſers, with mailes and morions. The third was of Germanes, to the number of 7. or 8. thouſand, vnder the Count *Ringrafe* their Colonell; men of warre & aſſured, as they made good proofe in their order, and march of battaile, wel enough armed according to their manner, as wel Pikes as ſhot. Touching the men of armes, and light Caualerie, the whole was ordained by rankes vpon the flancks of theſe battails, in number of 1000 or 1100. men at armes, with the company of archers. The men at armes were moũted vpon great Rouſsins, or courſers of the realme, Turkes and Ginets, with bardes of of ſuch colours in ſilke, as the Captains caried from the crown of their head to the ſole of their foot, with head peeces and pouldrons, the lance, the ſword, the dagger, the courtlaſſe, or the Mace, with reckoning their traine of other horſes, wheron were their ſeruants & groomes: ouer all which right well appeared the cheeftaines and members of theſe companies, and other great Lords, very richly armed with gilte, & cunningly engraued harneſſe, vpon readie horſes, barde and capariſond, with bards and of ſteele, light and rich, or els of ſtrong mayle and light, couered ouer with Veluet, cloth of golde and goldſmiths worke, and Embroderers, with great magnificence. The archers lightly armed carrying the halfe lance, the piſtoll at ſaddle pommell, the ſworde or the courtlaſſe, mounted vpon horſes ſturring, and curuetting at pleaſure, among which according to the power of eche one, nothing was forgotten to ſet forth himſelfe, who ſhould doe beſt. As touching the light Caualerie, there might be neere 2003. light horſe, which were armed with corſelets, vambraces, and bourguinots, the half lance or piſtoll, the courtlaſſe, if it ſeemed good, or the Gelderſword mounted vpon caualins, double courtals or horſe well ſhaped and very ſwift. The harquebuſiers on horſeback were between 12. & 1500. armed with iacks & ſleeues of maile, or curats, the Bourguinot, or the morion, the harquebuſe of 3. foot long at the ſaddle pummel, mounted vpon good courtals, euery man according to his ability, vnder the Duke of Aumaile, generall of al the light Caualerie. There was alſo 3. or 400. engliſhmen departed out of their country to practiſe the war, vnder a certain Lord, vpon geldings and little nags, ſwift & prompt, without being much armed, clad in ſhort Ierkins & red caps, according to their mãner, and a lance like a halfe pike, which they very well know how to handle, They are good men, deſirous to know and exerciſe the warres, as ſuch haue very well proued as haue bene with them. But as all men muzed much at the ſight of this armie, euen ſuch as were appointed to keep the baggage, a number of ſouldiers, ſeruãts & peſants, come out of Theonuille brake in, cheefely on the ſide of the Lance-knightes, from whom they caried the better, before people could be appointed to follow thẽ, which occaſioned ſince many yong Frenchmen, eſpecially of the light horſe, to attache the garriſon, and to try thẽſelues, againſt thoſe of Theonuille with more pleaſure & warlike exerciſe notwithſtanding, thẽ harme that happened to the one part or the other.

The men at armes and light Caualierie.

Light Caualerie.

Harquebuſiers mounted.

Engliſhmen.

The K. army before Metz.

The King hauing taken great pleasure at the order, equipage, behauiour, and salutation, which all they did vnto him, commanded them to march continually in battaile, armed at all peaces, afterwards he was saluted by his artillerie, placed a little aboue the army, within the vignes vpon a platforme: to wit, 16. great Canons, 6. long Culuerines, 6. lesser, 12. bastard culuerins, the whole conducted by *D' Estre*, great master and generall of the artillerie of Fraunce: the next morrowe the King entred into Metz, at the gate Champanoise, with great magnificence vnder a Canapie, carryed by foure of the best Gentlemen of marke in the Countrie, marching after the Officers, the Cleargie before followed by Cardinals, then the Constable barehead, armed at all peaces, bearing a naked Sworde before the King, who at the gate of the great Temple sware vpon the Euangelists to maintaine them in their rights and ancient priuiledges: after hauing giuen order to the gouernement and fortifications, aboue all to cut the towne, to raise there a rampier vpon the height of a mount, which commaunded, and hauing lefte *Arthus de Cosse* called *Gonor*, brother to the Marshall *Brissac* gouernor, with 200. light horse, a cõpany of ordinance, twelue ensignes for the garde of victuals which from all partes was to come to the army, he departed the 20. of Aprill, after his Auantgare ledde by the Constable: and leauing behinde him in forme of arreregarde, foure hundred men at armes, with a number of light horse, to aduaunce and assure the rearegarde, in like sorte the three troupes marched continually in battaile, and all their armes on their back, how dangerous a time and place soeuer they found. An occasion that many, who before had liued at great ease and delicacie, died: and many more for hauing drunke too much of those olde waters, fel sick at their returne. The armie rested two dayes in the faire and rich plaine of Sauerne, about the beginning of May 1552. to refresh the Souldiers, after the Caualiere gaue within one league of Strasbourg. In the meane season, and while the King remained at Sauerne, to repose his armie, and attende newes from the Germane Princes, they of Strasbourg wise by the example of the Mesins, negociated with the King, as well for the commoditie of his armie, as suretie of their towne: the King had already demaunded them to prouide victuals for the armie, and for that cause they deputed *Pierre Sturme*, *Gotessem*, and *Sleiden*, who brought vnto him great quantity of Corne and wine, but the Constable no whit regarded what they offered, by reason of the greatnes of the armie: And albeit the Embassadors were departed from him in such sorte, that they were to aduertise the Senate, and after to yeeld him answere: yet the very next morning he sent two gentlemen, by whom he pressed thẽ to answere with a long discourse of the Kings good will towards Germany, and for what cause he had entred into armes, and bene at so great a charge: to wit, to recouer their libertie, now eslaued by the Imperials, his other demaund was, that by reason the men at armes, stoode in need of sundry things, that it might be lawfull for them to buie them within the town, and that it might be permitted to the artificers, to bring their ware to the Campe, and sell it there: whereupon the Senate answered, that in matters of so great importance, they were not accustomed to conclude of ought, but by aduise of the generall councell of all their Seignory, and that after hauing consulted with them, they would send Deputies to declare their minde, so leaue being giuen them to departe, the next morrowe, the same men were sent to the Campe, which as yet remayned at Sauernes. Their tale being heard, ioyned thereto that they brought a little more munition then at first, and their reasons set downe why they might not suffer anye men at armes to enter the towne, the Constable began to speake in choller: and in deliuering how vniustly they iudged of the benefites of the King, and of the iniu-

The K. entry into Metz, and priuiledges graunted to the towne.

The K. procheth to Strasbourg.

The K. demaund to them of Strasbourg.

ries

ries of the Emperour, he added certaine biting tearmes, the end of his tale was that the next morrow the King would speake with them in person, and confirme whatsoeuer he had vttered. The same daye the Embassadours repaired to the King, with whom was the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Prince of Vendosme, and the Constable, where they recited as much as had bene deliuered by them to the Constable, at two parlies, and presented vnto him as much Oates as they had done before Wheate, and a little more Wine; beseeching him that for the ancient amitie which the signorie of Strasbourg had with the King of Fraunce, and for his owne curtesie, hee would take in good parte their offer, the rather for that there was a great Garrison within the Towne, called thether for feare of surprise, and a great number of Paisants were likewise retired thither out of the Countrie, which caused the Cittie not to be so well able to spare her prouision. The King after hauing conferred with his Councell, began himselfe to repeate the cause which made him come into Germany, in like sorte as the Constable had the day before deliuered, how that victuals was a matter most necessary, and not to be denyed to any person in the warde, offring to pay for them, were he not an enemy, otherwise if his stoode in any need, he would finde meanes to finde it, cost as it could, which would turne to a great damage, as euery man might perceiue. In the meane time he refused nothing which was offred, but would needs haue bread, the Deputies on the other side besought him that hee would be contented with corne: as they could not fall to agreement, so away they went without doing ought, the Deputies being returned into the Towne, the Senate ordained, that albeit they were not able to deliuer any of the Corne within the towne, yet they should make bread in the Countries neere hand, as much as they might be able, for they had both tolde the King and the Constable, that the estate of the towne and disposition of the time was such, as they were not to tarrie for ought, but if they could reape any thing of the Countries about, they would most willingly parte with it. The which the Senate had ordained, to the ende no wrong might be offred to the people of their Villages, nor their goods, so whatsoeuer could be found in any the Towns or Villages, was carried to the Campe, but it was no great matter.

Strasbourg leuieth men, fortifieth it selfe by the example of Metz.

Now all Lorraine being surprised, together with the Towne of Metz, they of Strasbourg soddainely leauied fiue thousand men for the defence of their towne, afterwards they pulled downe many buildings, as well publick as particular, they spoiled the gardens, and rooted vp the trees, and generally all that which might either hinder the view or serue the enemies vse, and of that part which they esteemed most necessary, they fortefied the Towne the best that they were able: that without all doubt annoyed some of the French in such sorte, as the Constable could not holde his peace, the last time that he spake to the Deputies: and the Germanes perswaded themselues, that as vnder a colour of some amitie they had entred into Metz, so they would attempt the like at Strasbourg, but knowing the town to be maruelous strong, and seeing all thinges so diligently prepared for the defence thereof, they changed their mindes as they say; and the better to passe by the remouing of their Campe, they tooke the way of Haguenau and Wisbourg, thither the deputies of the Prince Palatine, of the Archbishops of Maience and Treuues, of the Dukes of Cleues and Witemberg, who had beene assembled at Wormes for the good of the common wealth, came vnto the King, whose request was, that hee would not waste the plaine Countrie, and would take pittie of the poore comminaltie, and since that hee protested that he had made this warre for the libertie of Germany, that he would stay his armie, for that if hee passed further, it would be to the great damage of the Empire,

The Princes deputies sent to the King.

The Germanes beseech the K. not to enter Germany, but retire.

they beſought him then that hee would encline his hart to the making of a peace, of which as they had alreadye ſpoken to the Emperour, ſo would they againe deale with him, hauing a good hope thereof. As touching his demaund of making an allyance betweene them, they beſought him to haue regarde to their honour and good renowne, for that they could not by any meanes perfourme, by reaſon of their faith, by which they were bound to the Empire; notwithſtanding they would employ all their endeuours to the eſtabliſhing of a publicke peace. Moreouer they moſt affectionately beſought him not to endemnifie the territorie of Strasbourge, which is a free Cittie of the Empire, and that at his requeſt *Albert* Duke of Brandebourg, would more curteouſly entreate the B. of Wicibourg. At the very ſame time, to wit, the eleuenth of May, *Maurice* ſent letters to the King, wherein was contained all that had bene done at Lincy, where the confederate Princes of Germany had entreated of certaine articles of peace with *Ferdinand*, who negociated the ſame for the Emperour, of whoſe parte he had promiſed a good and prompt reſolution, for the benefite and quiet of all Germany. In like ſorte he required of the King (whom he would ſhould be comprehended in the ſame treatie of peace) that hee would ſet downe vnderwhat conditions he would compound with the Emperour. Theſe letters being receiued contrary to his expectation, and knowing well that the Queene of Hungary with troupes of men of warre, had taken Satenay, and burned whatſoeuer ſhe met without defence, iudging beſides of *Maurices* purpoſes as he thought good, he determined of his returne, ſo as hauing deuided his army into three partes, the better to conduct it with fewer diſcõmodities, and to make it march by diuers waies, and yet arriue altogither at one place, he left Germany; but before his departure hee anſwered to the Princes Deputies, that he had obtained that, for which hee was come into Germany with all his army, for the Captiue Princes ſhould be deliuered which was the occaſion of the warre: hee had then attained glory enough, if euer it ſhould happen that Germany ſhould ſtand in neede of him, he would neither ſpare trauaile nor expence, nor would faile to put himſelfe againe into all dangers, for to ſuccour them; at this preſent he would retire into his owne Realme with his armye, for hee vnderſtoode that the enemy did ouerrunne his Countrie. As touching the complaintes of the poore people, he receaued great diſpleaſure thereat, but diſcipline can neuer be ſo good in a Campe, but that militarie licence will breede ſome damage; for his owne parte he gaue the beſt order that he was able, that no man ſhould be intereſſed, if not, yet the leaſt that might be, and that the offendors ſhould be rigourouſlye puniſhed: As touching that which they wrote of the Emperour, and of a peace, he referred himſelfe to them; through his trauaile, diligence and proweſſe, Germany ſtode now freed from thoſe miſeries in which ſhe ſtoode enwrapped: henceforward it was for them to looke to it, that they did not villanouſly looſe that liberty, which he ſo honourably had rendred vnto them, he could not deny their demaund, on the behalfe of thoſe of Strasbourge, albeit that at ſuch time as hee was with his armye vpon their marches, many behaued themſelues inſolently and immodeſtly towards his people; notwithſtanding to entertain his confederates, and to haue a man alwaies in Germany, which might aſſure him of the true eſtate of the affaires, as they paſſed betweene the Imperialles and the confederates, and the better to be aduertiſed of the Emperors intents, he lefte *Du Freſne* B. of Bayonne his Embaſſadour about *Maurice*, who did there as you ſhall vnderſtand, after hauing repreſented vnto you the eſtate, in which in the meane time ſtoode the armies of the Emperour, and of *Maurice* ioyned with his allies, together with the conduct and laſt end of their enterpriſes; in which it ſhalbe an

The K. anſwer to the Deputies.

easie

eaſie matter for you to iudge, what fauours and diſaduantages the K. of Fraunce his armye brought to the one ſide and to the other.

We haue before tolde you how *Maurice* was departed from Lincy, where they had articulated certaine conditions of peace, *Ferdinand* ſuddainly after the aſſembly, took his iourney to Enipont towards the Emperour, to make him vnderſtand the whole. In the meane time *Maurice* being come backe to the Campe, drew towards the Alpes with his companions, where being egged forward by the Embaſſadour of Fraunce, he determined to ſet vppon thoſe troupes which the Emperour had cauſed to be leuyed in that countrie, ſo as the 17. day of May approching neere vnto Fieſſe, a Towne ſcituate at the entrie of the Alpes vpon the riuer Lech, and hauing vnderſtoode by his ſpies ſent to deſcry the countenance of the enemyes, how they had ſeaſed on all the ſtraites, and had ſo enſconced themſelues, as it was vnpoſsible to doe them harme, he contented himſelfe to ſend certaine of the cheefeſt, which galloped euen to their Campe, and tooke ſome, which they brought away with them, among whome they tooke *Langue du Keſte*. The next morrow aduancing forward with the Infanterie, 200. men at armes, arriued at the ſtraites of the mountaines, which about 800. of the Emperours ſouldiers kept with two fielde peeces, but they quickly ſeuered them, ſo as they being put to flight, ſufficiently aſtoniſhed thoſe which were nere vnto Rute, the rather for that the Princes following them foote by foote in ſuch ſort, ſet vpon the reſt, that they defeated them, in killing about one thouſand, and ſundrie other as well taken as drowned within the Riuer of Lech, with an Enſigne there leſte behinde.

The exploits of Maurices army vpon the Emperors troupes.

The princes gaine the ſtraites of the mountaines.

The next morrowe they battered the forte of Ereberge, with ſo good hap as they tooke the fortreſſe ſeated on the top of the Caſtle, thereby rendring themſelues maſters of the Cauſie, and of the great Cannons which they found there, which done they clambred vp the mountaine, ſtrong and painefull, euen to the Caſtle, albeit the bullets fell among them like haileſtones, notwithſtanding which, it was for all that rendred vp vnto them, by 13. Enſignes of foote, whereof nine were taken, and foure ſaued themſelues, and among them three were of Germanes, and three of Italians, about two thouſand priſoners were led away, with ſome loſſe of the other; this done, and as *Maurice* would haue gained the Cauſey, the ſouldiers ouer whome *Riſeberg* had charge, refuſed to goe on any further, except they might receaue extraordinary wages, by reaſon of the taking of Ereberg: whereupon hauing cauſed one of the ſeditious perſons which cryed out higheſt to be taken, the reſt did not onelye bende their Pikes againſt him, but many in like ſorte ſhot a number of bullets at him out of Harquebuſes, in ſuch ſorte as he hardly ſaued himſelfe: in the end notwithſtanding the Chiefetaines appeaſed all, and the 21. of May, two regimentes were ſent by the Alpes to Enipont, which was but two dayes iourney thence, the Cauallerie remayning with a regiment of Fantaſsins about Fieſse and Rute, to keepe the paſſage: then *Maurice* and the Princes allied, followed the next morrowe, and ioyned with the Infanterie neere Ziole, diſtant from Enipont two leagues; an occaſion why the Emperour hauing receiued newes of the winning of Ereberge, departed from Enipont in the night in great haſte and much trouble, with his brother *Ferdinand*, who was come thither but a little before to perſwade a peace, as hath beene tolde you, ſo as by keeping the way of the mountaines on the leſte hand, which leadeth to Trent, he retired himſelfe to Villac a towne of Cornia vpon the Diane: he likewiſe had ſet at liberte a little before that, *Iohn Frederic* Duke of Saxe, whome hee had cauſed to be ſhutte vp in priſon fiue whole yeares together, and now releaſed him, for feare leaſt the

Sedition in Maurices Campe.

The Emperour flyeth.

The D. of Saxe deliuered out of priſon, but followeth the Emperour throughout Germany.

the enemy ſhould arrogate the ſame to his glorie, which likewiſe the captiue was not himſelfe deſirous of: being at liberty, he notwithſtanding accompanied the Emperour whether ſoeuer he went.

Maurice being arriued at Enipont, whatſoeuer was found leſte of the Emperours ſtuffe, or appertaining to any of the Spaniards, or to the Cardinall of Ausbourg, was pilled, but no harme was offred to the goods of *Ferdinand*, nor of the Citizens: And for ſo much as there reſted then but three dayes of the truce, which had beene accorded in reſpect of the future treatie, *Maurice* wēt from thence to Paſſau, but the princes his companions, returned backe the ſame way they came, and rendred thēſelues at Fieſſe the 20. of May; and afterwardes publiſhed letters at Ausbourg, as well in their owne name as in *Maurices*, in theſe tearmes.

The confederate Princes letters againſt the Emperour, for religion, and the liberty of Germany.

WHereas in our former wrightings we haue affirmed that our entrance into armes, was for the defence of religion, and the liberty of Germany, the matter it ſelf & our bound dutie doth require that we ordaine ſufficient Doctors for the Churches, and inſtruction of youth, for it is moſt cleare and hath not any need of more ample proofe, how the enemies of the truth haue euer employed all their force to deſtroy the good Doctors, thereby to eſtabliſhe their Popiſh Idol, and cauſe youth to encreaſe therein, being nouriſhed in theſe errours, and falſe doctrines, for euen at that inſtant when they durſt not publickly ſpeak their mindes of religion, they then ſtudied by all meanes to roote out at the very bottome all true doctrine, and not onely haue they impriſonned the good doctors, but likewiſe in this very towne vnlooked for, and with great inhumanity haue they conſtrained them by oath to departe out of the whole teritorie of the Empire: and albeit that this oath be moſt wicked, and not grounded vpon any right or equitie, yet to take away all occaſion of detraction, we haue reuoked the ſelfeſame Miniſters and Schoolmaſters which our aduerſaries had chaced hence: wherefore we declare all thoſe abſolued, which haue beene caſt out by meanes of the band wherewith they ſtood bound through their oath: we reſtore them to their full liberte, with commaundement that not onely in this cittie, but alſo in all other places they preach the word of God purely, and according to that confeſſion which hath bene heere at other times preſented, and teach their youth rightly and holeſomelye in good learning, relying vpon our ſuccour and protection. We forbid in like ſorte, that none taunt thē with any iniurious worde, as if they had done ought againſt their faith and oath, conſidering that without any deſerte, but meerely for confeſſion of the truth, that they haue already liued many moneths in exile, we make no doubt but good men wil greatly pittie them, and eſteeme them worthy of being ſuccoured and releeued with all fauour. And for ſo much as thoſe which in the abſence of the other haue taught in this Cittie, be men ſuſpected and vnconſtant, ſo as by reaſon of their diuers faſhion of teaching they may not be commodiouſly with thoſe which we haue called home. We require the Senate to take from them the chaire, and to carry themſelues in ſuch ſorte as this our preſent Edict may remaine in force.

Miniſters and Schoolemaſters reſtored by the Proteſtant princes in Germany.

After that the Princes had publiſhed theſe letters the 7. of Iune, fiue dayes after they inſtalled againe the Proteſtant Miniſters in their places, and gaue them againe a great charge to preach, to the wonderfull reioycing and pleaſure of the people.

Maurice went his way in the meane time to *Paſſau* to entreat of peace, where the fifth of Iune all that had beene handled at Lincy was repeated, and the whole matter ſet downe and explaned at large by *Maurice*. There were preſent the Emperors embaſſadours, King *Ferdinand*, *Albert* D. of Bauiere, the Biſhops of Salisbourg and Deiſtet

Maurice his complaint againſt the Emperour.

ſtet, and the Embaſſadours of all the Princes Electors of Cleues, and of Witemberg. *Maurice* greatly complained how the common wealth of the Empire, which ought to be the freeſt of all other, was gouerned by ſtrangers, how the authoritye of the Princes Electors, was from day to daye diminiſhed, how many thinges were done without euer once demaunding their aduice, how ſundrye appertinances were diſmembred, and cleane aliened from the Empire, and the meanes ſought how their right might be vtterly taken away from the chuſing of the Emperour, how in the imperiall daies for the moſt part they left behinde the opinions of the Electors, how the particular aſſemblies of the Electors remained there, I know not with what feare how their iuriſdiction diminiſhed, for ſo much as contrarye to the ancient cuſtome the Chamber receiued the griefes and complaints of thoſe, which were the appellants of that which they had ordained: the differents of the eſtates of the Empire were therby increaſed, and could not be pacified vntil both partes were greatly intereſſed, how it grew to too great an expence and trouble, but to haue audience in the Emperours Court, for that cauſes could not ordinarily be throughlye vnderſtoode, for want of well vnderſtanding the language: how not onely great charge grewe thereof, but much time there ſpent without any profit; how at the imperiall dayes there was ſmall amitye, for if any one propoſed ought for the benefite of the cõmon wealth, it was ſtrait conſtrued in the worſt part, how Germany drew it ſelfe clean dry through theſe ſo often and long aſſemblies, and in the meane time many things went to racke at home, and yet for all that the publicke eſtate waxed not better but worſe, and ſtil enwrapped in more miſeries, how it was forbidden by a rigorous Edict, that none ſhuld be entertained in wages by ſtrangers, how ſuch as are reconciled are bound not to carrie armes againſt any of the Emperours prouinces, and by that means are ſeperate from the Empire; how thoſe which in the warre of Smalcade ſerued but their owne Lords, were condemned in great fines, and how they leuied monie in like ſorte of thoſe, which during the ſaide warre continually remained in the amitye of the Emperour, yea vpon paine of ſeeing their goods ſolde before their eyes, except they made a quick diſpatch; and becauſe their Deputies accorded together, incontinently proclamation was made that they ſhould departe from the Court vpon paine of death; how often they had brought ſtrangers, men at armes into Germany, and after the laſt watre diſperſed them throughout the prouinces, where they committed a thouſand villanies and diſorders, and bragging how they had tamed Germany, and boaſted that ſhe ſhould be annexed to the Emperours patrimony, and how in the cheefe and principall Cities ſhould be erected fortes and bulwarkes to bridle them in, how as it were in mockery, they carried out of Germany to ſtrange nations great quantity of peeces of artillerie, and furnitnre of warre; how ſome for extreme couetouſnes of vaine glorye, haue engraued in ſuch peeces as they cauſed to bee newe caſt, the armes of the Princes of Germanye, as who would ſay that they had wonne them from them; how they had imprinted little bookes, yea with priuiledge of the Emperour, to the great diſhonour of Germany, as if ſhe had bene vtterly tamed and brought into bondage; how at publique aſſemblies ſome were receaued to the number of the Princes and eſtates, vnder the name of the Emperours prouinces, which was craftily done, to the end that the number being encreaſed, they might gain their wils by multitude of voyces; how foure yeares paſſed they had erected a Parlament of the Chamber, and how lawes were priuatelye made by ſome, and ſince publiſhed not without the great damage of a number, and eſpecially of thoſe, of the religion of Ausbourg, for they gaue vnto them no place at all in this aſſemblye; it is then moſt neceſſary,

the enemy ſhould arrogate the ſame to his glorie, which likewiſe the captiue was not himſelfe deſirous of: being at liberty, he notwithſtanding accompanied the Emperour whether ſoeuer he went.

Maurice being arriued at Enipont, whatſoeuer was found lefte of the Emperours ſtuffe, or appertaining to any of the Spaniards, or to the Cardinall of Ausbourg, was pilled, but no harme was offred to the goods of *Ferdinand*, nor of the Citizens: And for ſo much as there reſted then but three dayes of the truce, which had beene accorded in reſpect of the future treatie, *Maurice* wēt from thence to Paſſau, but the princes his companions, returned backe the ſame way they came, and rendred thēſelues at Fieſe the 20. of May; and afterwardes publiſhed letters at Ausbourg, as well in their owne name as in *Maurices*, in theſe tearmes.

The confederate Princes letters againſt the Emperour, for religion, and the liberty of Germany.

WHereas in our former wrightings we haue affirmed that our entrance into armes, was for the defence of religion, and the liberty of Germany, the matter it ſelf & our bound dutie doth require that we ordaine ſufficient Doctors for the Churches, and inſtruction of youth, for it is moſt cleare and hath not any need of more ample proofe, how the enemies of the truth haue euer employed all their force to deſtroy the good Doctors, thereby to eſtabliſhe their Popiſh Idol, and cauſe youth to encreaſe therein, being nouriſhed in theſe errours, and falſe doctrines, for euen at that inſtant when they durſt not publickly ſpeak their mindes of religion, they then ſtudied by all meanes to roote out at the very bottome all true doctrine, and not onely haue they impriſonned the good doctors, but likewiſe in this very towne vnlooked for, and with great inhumanity haue they conſtrained them by oath to departe out of the whole teritorie of the Empire: and albeit that this oath be moſt wicked, and not grounded vpon any right or equitie, yet to take away all occaſion of detraction, we haue reuoked the ſelfeſame Miniſters and Schoolmaſters which our aduerſaries had chaced hence: wherefore we declare all thoſe abſolued, which haue beene caſt out by meanes of the band wherewith they ſtood bound through their oath: we reſtore them to their full libertie, with commaundement that not onely in this cittie, but alſo in all other places they preach the word of God purely, and according to that confeſsion which hath bene heere at other times preſented, and teach their youth rightly and holeſomelye in good learning, relying vpon our ſuccour and protection. We forbid in like ſorte, that none taunt thē with any iniurious worde, as if they had done ought againſt their faith and oath, conſidering that without any deſerte, but meerely for confeſsion of the truth, that they haue already liued many moneths in exile, we make no doubt but good men wil greatly pittie them, and eſteeme them worthy of being ſuccoured and releeued with all fauour. And for ſo much as thoſe which in the abſence of the other haue taught in this Cittie, be men ſuſpected and vnconſtant, ſo as by reaſon of their diuers faſhion of teaching they may not be commodiouſly with thoſe which we haue called home. We require the Senate to take from them the chaire, and to carry themſelues in ſuch ſorte as this our preſent Edict may remaine in force.

Miniſters and Schoolemaſters reſtored by the Proteſtant princes in Germany.

After that the Princes had publiſhed theſe letters the 7. of Iune, fiue dayes after they inſtalled againe the Proteſtant Miniſters in their places, and gaue them againe a great charge to preach, to the wonderfull reioycing and pleaſure of the people.

Maurice went his way in the meane time to Paſſau to entreat of peace, where the fifth of Iune all that had beene handled at Lincy was repeated, and the whole matter ſet downe and explaned at large by *Maurice*. There were preſent the Emperors embaſſadours, King *Ferdinand*, *Albert* D. of Bauiere, the Biſhops of Salisbourg and Deiſtet

Maurice his complaint againſt the Emperour.

ſtet, and the Embaſſadours of all the Princes Electors of Cleues, and of Witemberg. *Maurice* greatly complained how the common wealth of the Empire, which ought to be the freeſt of all other, was gouerned by ſtrangers, how the authoritye of the Princes Electors, was from day to daye diminiſhed, how many thinges were done without euer once demaunding their aduice, how ſundrye appertinances were diſmembred, and cleane aliened from the Empire, and the meanes ſought how their right might be vtterly taken away from the chuſing of the Emperour, how in the imperiall daies for the moſt part they left behinde the opinions of the Electors, how the particular aſſemblies of the Electors remained there, I know not with what feare how their iuriſdiction diminiſhed, for ſo much as contrarye to the ancient cuſtome the Chamber receiued the griefes and complaints of thoſe, which were the appellants of that which they had ordained: the differents of the eſtates of the Empire were therby increaſed, and could not be pacified vntil both partes were greatly intereſſed, how it grew to too great an expence and trouble, but to haue audience in the Emperours Court, for that cauſes could not ordinarily be throughlye vnderſtoode, for want of well vnderſtanding the language: how not onely great charge grewe thereof, but much time there ſpent without any profit; how at the imperiall dayes there was ſmall amitye, for if any one propoſed ought for the benefite of the cõmon wealth, it was ſtrait conſtrued in the worſt part, how Germany drew it ſelfe cleandry through theſe ſo often and long aſſemblies, and in the meane time many things went to racke at home, and yet for all that the publicke eſtate waxed not better but worſe, and ſtil enwrapped in more miſeries, how it was forbidden by a rigorous Edict, that none ſhuld be entertained in wages by ſtrangers, how ſuch as are reconciled are bound not to carrie armes againſt any of the Emperours prouinces, and by that means are ſeperate from the Empire; how thoſe which in the warre of Smalcade ſerued but their owne Lords, were condemned in great fines, and how they leuied monie in like ſorte of thoſe, which during the ſaide warre continually remained in the amitye of the Emperour, yea vpon paine of ſeeing their goods ſolde before their eyes, except they made a quick diſpatch; and becauſe their Deputies accorded together, incontinently proclamation was made that they ſhould departe from the Court vpon paine of death; how often they had brought ſtrangers, men at armes into Germany, and after the laſt watre diſperſed them throughout the prouinces, where they committed a thouſand villanies and diſorders, and bragging how they had tamed Germany, and boaſted that ſhe ſhould be annexed to the Emperours patrimony, and how in the cheefe and principall Cities ſhould be erected fortes and bulwarkes to bridle them in, how as it were in mockery, they carried out of Germany to ſtrange nations great quantity of peeces of artillerie, and furnitnre of warre; how ſome for extreme couetouſnes of vaine glorye, haue engraued in ſuch peeces as they cauſed to bee newe caſt, the armes of the Princes of Germanye, as who would ſay that they had wonne them from them; how they had imprinted little bookes, yea with priuiledge of the Emperour, to the great diſhonour of Germany, as if ſhe had bene vtterly tamed and brought into bondage; how at publique aſſemblies ſome were receaued to the number of the Princes and eſtates, vnder the name of the Emperours prouinces, which was craftily done, to the end that the number being encreaſed, they might gain their wils by multitude of voyces; how foure yeares paſſed they had erected a Parlament of the Chamber, and how lawes were priuatelye made by ſome, and ſince publiſhed not without the great damage of a number, and eſpecially of thoſe, of the religion of Ausbourg, for they gaue vnto them no place at all in this aſſemblye; it is then moſt neceſſary,

neceſſary, ſaid he, that the lawes ſhould be examined at the very firſt aſſembly, *Maurice* propoſed theſe things and ſundry other more, requiring to haue them amended, conſidering how they touched the Empire, and that the Empire might be reſtored to her antient brightnes, and that it might not be lawfull for other to ſcoffe them or deſpiſe them: the Commiſſioners after hauing conſulted together, iudged that theſe demaunds contained nothing in them but great equitie, and yet to the ende the Emperours honour might be preſerued, and that himſelfe might the rather be perſwaded thereunto, they were of opinion that many matters which concerned the reformation of the publique eſtate might very well be reſerued to an imperiall day.

The French Embaſſadors oration.

There was alſo *Du Freſne* the French Embaſſadour, who made his oration in full audience of all the Princes, the 13. of Iune, ſaying: *That in olde time and long before euer the name of French was heard of among men, there had bene ſo great a conformitie of life betweene the Gaulois and the Almans, that at other times they were called by the Latins, Germanes, as brethren to the Gaulois: but after that the French had ſeated themſelues in Gaul, the two nations were ſo vnited together, that it was one ſelfe ſame Empire, vnder the ſame Prince and the ſame lawes. Afterwards as in change of time the empire was transferred to Germany, ſo did the Saxons and other Emperours alwaies entertaine amitie with the French, for becauſe they were deſcended from the Kings of Fraunce: in ſuch ſorte as* Philip Auguſtus *cauſed to be engraued in letters of golde, that ancient alliance which was as it were cleane aboliſhed thorough antiquitie, and to be ſet vp in the moſt holye place, and not without cauſe, for whileſt that this coniunction endured, the common welth of both the people flouriſhed, and the force of Germany was ſo great, as it gaue lawes not onely to the Hungarians, Bohemians, Pollakes & Danes, but alſo to the very Italians: and the Kings of Fraunce in like ſorte curious to amplifie Religion, did often beare armes againſt Sarazins, Turkes, and other enemies of Chriſtendome, through Aſia, Affrica, and Europe, in atchiuing of moſt glorious victories. Since that, we are come in a more vnhappie age, when as ſome Emperours as it were engraffed in, and not of the naturall ſtocke of Germanes, and vnworthye of their eſtate, haue cleane abandoned this amitie of the Kings of Fraunce: whereupon there enſued great misfortunes in the Common wealth. But this ſoare was healed by the grace of God, by meanes of the noble families of the Princes of Luxembourg, out of which ſome Emperours deſcended, men of high renowne, and great freendes to the Kings of Fraunce, for the Father of* Charles *the fourth died in fighting for the King of Fraunce. The Princes of Auſtria haue bene in like ſorte affected, among whome* Albert *the firſt could not poſsibly be induced by any of the Popes promiſes or threats, to make warre againſt Fraunce, which hee recited to the end it might be vnderſtoode, how ill ſome of the familiars and and ſeruants to the moſt puiſſant emperour* Charles *the fifth order the common wealth, not onely ſeeking by all their trauell to diſioyne theſe two moſt excellent Nations the one from the other, but before this thorough their ſubtilties and wilines they haue preuailed ſo farre, as the moſt famous Prince King* Frauncis *was condemned for an enemy without being heard. It is true that that redounded to their particular profite, but to the great dammage of the Common wealth, for it may euidently enough be perceiued, how hard a matter it is to decay the liberty of Germanye, and to build their Realme to make it laſt ſo great and ſo long, as the amity betweene theſe two nations hath endured, for becauſe at this preſent ſtanding in feare of the French armies, they proceede therein more ſlackely, and inſiſt not ſo lively to impoſe their Spaniſh yoke: they be they for certaine, which haue obtained peace at the Turkes handes, by praiers and tributes, and who vnder colour of Religion and obedience, haue brought a thouſand enormities and factions into Germany, which haue beaten her with her owne rodde, warring againſt her with her owne power, which haue drawne monie from all, and rendred the condition of Germany into ſo pitious an eſtate, as may be wel ſeene by the Spaniſh Garriſons, diſpoſed on the one ſide and the other, which*

haue

haue vnfurnished those places of armes where they were kept in store, which haue made open the way to the examination of the treasure, for it is growne to that passe at this day, that the seale of the Empire, and the iudgement of the Chamber, and the right or priuiledge of imperiall dayes, is in the sleeue of the B. of Arras, for what meaneth this, to execute by way of iustice, or to banish in offring great rewardes to the murtherers? all those, as for their maintenance, haue put themselues into the wages of strangers. I omit so many murthers, so many whordomes, pilferies, and sackings of Cities, and about all religion, which now was handled of one sorte, and now of another, accordingly as the time serued. Certes whatsoeuer hath beene done since some yeares passed, hath tended to no other end then to trouble the Lawes of the Empire, or constraine or allure King Ferdinand by faire promises, as also to terrifie the Princes by feares and dreades, to the end the Prince of Spaine might be chosen Emperour: were it not rather to be wished by men of valour, to dye then to see the light of the Sunne in such miseries and calamities? I doe not think that any man can be found so blockish or barbarous, that hee doth not feele himselfe galled with these thinges. Therefore no man ought to maruell, if at the last some Princes haue beene found, and among them the Electour Maurice D. of Saxe, which stand resolued to hazard their liues for the recouerie of the liberty of their common Countrie, and which finding themselues too feeble, and not able alone to sustaine the charge, haue demaunded succour and alliance of the King of Fraunce, who cleane forgetting any mislikes of the time passed, hath not onely employed thereto all his wealth and treasure, but also hath not spared his owne person in a matter of so great consequence: contracting an alliance with them, wherein among other thinges there is set downe, that they shall not make any accorde with the enemy, without the Kings good liking: and albeit that Maurice be bound thereunto, yet desiring the prosperitie of the Countrie, and to accommodate himselfe to Ferdinand, which did so earnestly require it, he very lately besought the most christian King, to signifie vnto him, vnder what conditions hee would haue the peace treated of: that, to say the truth fell out otherwise then he hoped for, considering his benefite towards them to haue beene such and so great, that hee thought it fitter to entreate neerer hand, and not so farre off, of matters which so neerely concerned him: neuertheless forsomuch as he euer preferred the publick weale before his owne particular, hee would deny nothing to a Prince his allie: wherefore if the soares of the common wealth might be healed as they ought, and that good assurance may be giuen that in time to come they shall not be refreshed, if the Captiue Princes may be released vnder the conditions set downe in the treatie, further if the ancient alliances betweene Fraunce and the Empire, and the last Capitulation with Princes, may be so confirmed, as that for euer they may remaine in force: if these thinges I saye may bee well brought to passe, he is so affectionate to the Common wealth, that not onely he will willingly accord to a treatie of peace, but also yeeld most humble thanks to God, that herein he hath aided you with counsell, and succours. As touching priuate matters, as the Emperour hath detained from him many things by force, and made warre vpon him without any iust occasion, the King thinketh it a matter very reasonable, that he which hath beene the occasion of the iniury, should firste shewe the way of satisfaction. The King in truth no whit distrusteth at all of his owne power, nor yet of the equitie of his cause, and notwithstanding hee will giue them to vnderstand how much hee loueth peace, and how much hee desireth to agree with them all, and with Maurice.

The confederate Princes answere to the French Embassadour.

The Princes answered hereunto, that his discourse fet from antiquitie, as concerning the coniunction of Germany and Fraunce, was most agreeable vnto them, and no lesse that the King preferred the common wealth before his particular profite, making no refusall to the confederate Princes accorde with the Emperour, for it is not onely the profite of one nation, but of all Europe, which hauing beene turmoyled

with ciuill calamities, tended to an euident ruine. As for the conditions which the K. demaunded, they doubted not but that they might be obtained, for the Emperour alwaies bare good will towards the common wealth, both heretofore and in theſe preſent troubles, he neuer vnderſtoode that the libertye of Germany was any waies diminiſhed. There was likewiſe great hope that in very ſhort ſpace hee would ſet at libertie the Captiue Princes. As touching the renewing of their ancient alliances, the King well vnderſtandeth in his owne wiſedome, that a matter of ſo great weight could not be brought to paſſe in this aſſembly: notwithſtanding they greatly deſired that the amitie which euer had beene betweene the two nations might remaine firme and inuiolable: they likewiſe deſire aboue all the reſt, that the differentes betweene the King and the Emperour might be pacified, proteſting that therein they would neither ſpare trauaile nor diligence whatſoeuer. But forſomuch as the K. ſaid that the Emperour did poſſeſſe ſundry places which appertained to him, and openly made ſhew of many which he would repeate, it ſeemed vnto them a matter very reaſonable, that he ſhould declare what they were, for they were determined fullye to informe the Emperour thereof, and to be a meanes in the cauſe. Further they beſought the King to take the ſame in good parte. That which the Embaſſadour ſpake of the familye of Luxembourg grew vpon this: *Henry* Earle of Luxembourg had a ſonne named *Henry*, who afterwards was the ſeuenth Emperour of that name, hee had a Sonne named *Iohn*, who by mariage was King of Bohemia, and gaue ſuccours to *Philip de Valois* againſt *Edward* the third King of England, being preſent himſelfe in perſon at the day of battaile, but there remained hee, for that the Engliſhmen had the better. Among other he left *Charles* his eldeſt Sonne, who afterwarde was the fourth Emperour of that name, Father vnto *Wenceſlaus* and *Sigiſmond*, who both came after to be Emperours, and the latter was likewiſe King of Hungarie and Bohemia, and ſolicited the councell of *Conſtance*. *Albert* of Auſtria of whom he ſpake, was Emperour ſonne to *Raoul* the Emperour, who alwaies entertained good amitie with *Philip le Bel*, King of Fraunce, albeit that *Boniface* the eight, enflamed him as much as poſsibly he could to make war. But it is now time to look back to the French.

Familie of Luxembourg.

Albert of Auſtria.

I haue tolde you how the King of Fraunce being come as farre as Straſbourge, with an armye of thirtie thouſand men, for the ſuccour of the Proteſtant Princes againſt the Emperour, afterwards reſolued of his returne, vnderſtanding of the Peace concluded betweene the Germanes, had deuided the body of his forces into three partes, to make them to march ſundry waies the eaſier, and with leſſe diſcommoditie of victuals, and eſpecially to encounter the ſooner the Q. of Hungaries army, which ſhe had to the borders of Champagne. This Princeſſe knowing how the affaires of the Emperor her brother, went but euen hardly by reaſon of thoſe occaſios which I haue made you to vnderſtand: and aboue al that this French armye would preſſe a croſſe girde to his intents, determined to retarde the ſame by ſuch troupes as ſhe could leuy throughout the lowe countries, which would bee in ſuch ſorte able to preiudice the realme, as the K. ſhould be enforced to returne for ſuccour of the ſame, and ſo hauing ſolicited *Martin Vanroſſe*, the baſtard and Marſhall of Cleues, ſhe cauſed him to come downe into the duchie of Luxembourg, with 3000. ſouldiers of Cleues, Valois, and Geldres, aſsiſted with 600. horſe, all which being ioyned with Count *Mansfielde*, the gouernour of the Duchie, the Baillife of Auanes, the Gouernors of Cimetz, & other chieftanes, made vp the number of 12000. Pantalsins, & 3000. horſe, with which they determined to enter into Fraunce, and there to doe the worſt they ſhuld be able; they

The Q. of Hungary cauſeth the K. army to returne.

The Imperials army in Luxembourg.

took

tooke Satenay vpon the Meuſe, by a Lorraine Captaines voluntarye deliuerye ther-of, which the Dowager of Lorraine had left there without other Garriſon; where ſuddenly they employed themſelues to repaire the breaches, and to reſtore it into his former eſtate, building of a bulwark behinde on the ſide of Dun le chaſteau, and a platforme towards La iuſtice. Now vpon the bruite that they ment to aſſaile Villefranche, *Bourdillon* went in with ſeauenteene horſe, and the ſame night made his company of men at armes to enter in, with as many men and prouiſions as hee was able, but being aduertiſed how they changing of their opinion were determined to returne to Mouſon, he lefte *Chaſtellus* his Lieutenant at Villefranche, iſſued from one of the antient houſes of Burgundie, with ſuch full authoritye as the Queene, and the Admirall D'Anebaut had giuen vnto him to commaund there; and with the reſt of his company entred at breake of day into Mouſon, where *Roche de Maine* was with his company of men at armes, and the three hundred Fantaſsins of the Barons of Cerny; but if the cheefeſt ſorte did not agree, much more were the inhabitants perplexed through the feeblenes of the place, commanded by a high mountaine neere vnto it, notwithſtanding any rampire which they were able to make to couer it: beſides, that the principall of the towne had already truſt vp their baggage; *Bourdillon* notwithſtanding hauing aſſured them of the Kings comming at hand, and hauing cauſed his cobbarde, and other more precious moueables to be brought in, and ſwearing not to abandon them, they a little aſſured themſelues. The Imperials for all that being ſaluted with the Cannon ſhotte of Villefranche, and councelled not to remain there, crept along the riuer, as farre as the village of Brioles, where they burned the Church and the forte, then to Mont-faucon which they burned, and ſo deſcended into the plaine, to put men into the Caſtle of Boulandre, which they took, by ſtealth getting of victuals and prouiſions, which they carried to Satenay: from thence all along the riuer they ſacked ſundry villages as farre as Grampre, a little Towne vpon Aire, neere Chalons and Atigni, where they reſted: and vnderſtanding how the Admirall hauing put the Legionaires of Champagne in armes, and vnited the Zuizers with the French men of warre, approched neere; they ſet fire on Grampre, Boulandre, and other places, to retire themſelues to Satenay, where they had intelligence that the light horſe of the Kings army who aduaunced forward, were already at Luxembourg: an occaſion that to retire themſelues, they all abandoned it, leauing the moſt parte of thoſe of Cleues and Geldres, for the aſſurance of Yuoy, if any ſhould goe about to force it. King *Henry* in the meane time, who heard the complaintes of theſe miſerable Subiectes, the ſooner to haſten the reuenge, put out of his armye almoſt all the ſicke perſons, and lefte the baggage vnder the conduct of the Earle of Arraine, and Viſdome of Chartres with their companies, and ſome light horſe, and Harquebuſers mounted, for the conueying therof into Metz, or any other place which they ſhould think more aſſured: afterwardes the diſcamping of the imperials being known, & the immoderate diligence vſed at the retiring of his troups, the conqueſt of the duchy of Luxembourg was deliberated of and reſolued to annex it vnto the crown, as a proper ſucceſſion falle to the houſe of Vendoſme, by the death of the Conſtable *S. Paul*, true Lord & peaceable poſſeſſor thereof, in carrying the name and armes, as the authors of that councel maintained, albeit that ſince that time *Charles* Duke of Burgondie had euer vſurped the ſame, the rather for that many neighbours therabouts ſaid that it was the very true refuge of theeues and outlawes, therefore did the armye drawe right to the Caſtle of Roc de Mars, all alongſt the Mozelle be-

The K. armie aduanceth forward.

tweene Treues and Theonuille, ſeated on the ſteepe of a hyll, ſtrong enough for ſcituation and fortification, with a little Towne beneath it, vnder the tytle of Viſcount. The Caſtle ſummoned made refuſall, for a number of Gentlemen, Ladyes, and other neighbours of reputation, were retired thither, imagining that the King would firſt employe his forces againſt Theonuille, and that at all aſſaies they might euer be receiued at an honourable compoſition after the firſt brunte. But the King contrariwiſe was councelled to attempte that, in reſpect of the victuals and prouiſions which the armye ſo much wearyed ſhould there finde, & that the ſacking thereof might rather bee giuen to the Souldiers, how Theonuille was too ſtrong and well prouided, to bee gotten in ſo ſhorte time, which they were not any waies to conſume but with aſſured profite, how thereby they ſhould looſe the occaſions of executing other thinges, how in the meane time they would fortefie the reſt of the places with all commodities: beſides how Theonuille ſtoode betweene Metz and that Caſtle, which they might ſo repaire, as the Garriſon of Theonuille ſhould be blocked in, and their prouiſions cleane ſtopped, which would be a meanes that in the end it ſhould likewiſe be rendred vp to the French, with leſſe charge, leſſe loſſe of time, and leſſe hazarde: ſixe Cannons were planted on the hill for batterye, two Culuerins battered againſt the wall, where there was but one groſſe ſquare tower for a flanker, and the Portall which ſerued for another. After betweene the towne and the Caſtle was dreſſed a battery beneath, right againſt a great Towre and a canton of the wall, ſo as they within beſieged, feeling the ſhaking of the Towres and walles, were not hard to Parley. But the Souldiers hauing the ſacking promiſed vnto them, fearing leaſt a Parley would cauſe a voluntary rendring, and neuer tarrying other volley of the Cannons, leapt into the ditches, which were deepe, high, and broad, whereof ſome clambering vp, others mounting with their Pikes to the wall, while the reſt were with wood and fire at the gates, ſo greatly aſtonied the beſieged, that all retired themſelues into Caues, Chambers, Sellers, and other ſecret places, to ſhun death, which was euen before their eyes; eſpecially after that ſome French men hauing found and broken open the gate of a Poſterne which went out of the baſe Courte into the Ditch, had made themſelues to be perceiued and feared on al parts, for that as ſoone as being mounted, they gaue entrye to all the reſt, which had no regarde but to throwe downe, rifle, and take all. At ſuch time as the Earle *Ringraue* Collonell of the Germanes, who did not imagine the taking thereof vpon ſuch a ſoddaine, went to beſeeche the King in conſideration of all his ſeruices, to ſpare vnto him that place, the Lady whereof was his neere Kinſewoman, which the King graunted vnto him, commaunding *Coligny* to cauſe the Souldiers to retire. Afterwards Mont S. Iean, Solieure, and other places were ſacked and burned, during the continuall and freſh skirmiſhes betweene the French and Imperialles before Theonuille; from whence the army being paſſed Eſtain, turned face to take againe the way of D'anuille, about which was already the Admirall d'Annebaut, with the Legionaires of Champaigne, 4. thouſand Suizers, and 200. horſe, with which he had alreadie hindred ſuch ſuccors, as *Marcy* gouernour of that place attended from his partakers: it is in a place plaine and fennie, but the hotte ſeaſon dry through the Solſtice of the Summer, was ſo fauourable to the approches of the French, that two thouſand Fantaſsins, and 3. hundreth light horſe ſince named Carabins, nor the Cannon ſhot could haue hindred the Artillerye from being planted on the toppe of the Caſtle ditche towardes the Medowe, without the battery from a little hill, of ſixe Culuerins

What place the army was firſt to attempt.

Roc de Mars beſieged, battred. taken & ſacked, by the French.

Deanuille repreſented, beſieged, battred, and rendred to the K. diſcretion

uerines, to barre and annoye such defences as it was very ill prouided of, albeit it was made at pleasure, to the ende it might bee impregnable: during these approches, the King made his entrye into Verdun, albeit it was full of the sicke persons of his armye, and after that the Cardinall had feasted him at Dinner within the Bishops Pallace, hee returned to viewe the batterye, which lasted from the fourteenth to the sixteenth of Iune, making two breaches, whereof one was towardes the riuer, and the Castle ditche was for all that full of water the height of a Pike, and aboue that they were faine some to ascende more then a fadome and a halfe: but as the Fanterye presented themselues at the assaulte, those which were within refused of any composition, rendred themselues in the ende to the discretion of the King, which was that the cheefe and principall persons should remaine Prisonners, that the Souldiers should departe with white sticks downe, hauing full liberty to goe whether it pleased them best, the goods should remaine to the Kings vse, which hee afterwardes bestowed (the artillerie reserued) vpon the Earle of Coligny called *Chastillon*, whereat the Souldiers began to murmure, seeing themselues frustrate of the sacke of both those places, being ill apparelled and little in their purses by reason of their long voyage, and the most parte of them very sicke. The Captaine *Villefranche* one of the cheefest men of marke among the olde bandes had the gouernement, but hauing beene hurte there with a Musket shotte, hee died: and *Le Bruil* a Bourgonian Gentleman, before Liuetenant to *Salsedo*, had his companye, and *Rabodanges* the gouernement.

The K. entry into Verdun.

Whilste that the King with promise of honourable entertainement receaued the Prince of Salerna, who greatly grew discontented with the Emperour, the Constable hauing vnderstanding how the Earle *Mansfelde* was gotten into Yuoy, whereof *Strinchant* was Gouernour, sent to blocke him in with two thousand foote, and a number of horse, to hinder any goings foorth or entries in: after the rest encamped there, the Earle shewing himselfe a great husband of his prouisions, and causing no sallye to be made foorth, which proued not very hurtfull to the French. The Towne is scituate at the foote of a Mountaine, and on the other side is a medowe, and a faire spatious plaine, alongst the which runneth La Chesse, a little Riuer which commeth towardes D'anuille, swelling greater hard by with many other brookes which fall into it: afterwardes it commeth into Meuse neere Sedan. The greatest parte of the Garrison was of Germanes, Cleuois, and Geldrois, not accustomed to abide great famine nor long thirste, no more then to sustaine other discommodities of such sieges, with the Earls company of 100. men at armes, and 500. horse, as well of the Gentlemen about, was of these Carabins, and Harquebusiers mounted. They very wel perfourmed their duties by ordinary sallies, and right sharp skirmishes to hinder the aproches of the artillerie: but in the end it was planted in 2. places, as neere the brinke of the ditch of Mouson side against a little Canton of a wall, which onely remained of the rampier, the height of 3. fadome and somewhat aboue, which battered in point blanck. They had set vpon the hill 6. culuerins, which spoiled all the streetes and the length of the courtins, right on the backe of the breache, so as those within besieged, not seeing any walke sure for them, without being scarred, and so neere their eares that the heate remained there, lost their courage, and being with one consent assembled vnder the hale and with them the brauest of the companye, albeit that the greatest breach could not holde fifteene men in front, besides their trauerses, trenches, traines, chansletraps, fricasses, and other deuices proper for the de-

The Prince of Salerne quitting the Emperour commeth to the King.

Yuoy and his representation, siege, batterie and yeelding vp to the K.

fence of a breach: and albeit that the Earle were armed and readye of his charge, declared vnto them their dutie, the valewe and renowne of the Germane nation, with the dishonour and losse as well of life as goods, which would ensue so cowardlye a resolution, would make no other answere, but that if the French did assaile him before, they would dispatch him behinde. In summe, seeing them the farre stronger, and not able but to curse his life, and detest his ill happe; hee set a French Gentleman at libertie, to be a witnesse of his dutie. Afterwardes being retyred with salte teares into his Chamber, *Strinchant* made a Trumpeter goe vpon the side of the trenches to demaund a parle of the Constable, which being graunted, *Strinchant* went out hoping of some aduantagious capitulation, which could be no other then that of D'anuille, so the Earle hauing learnedly and eloquently (as hee was very well studied in learning, with the knowledge whereof hee honoured the profession of armes) bewailed his miserie vnto the Constable, was with the rest of the cheefe caried to Paris. A notable example said some of the French, for all such as reposing themselues in any prosperitie passed, or in the merite of their owne valour, consider not that the dutie of a Captaine is so inseparably ioyned, to theirs which obey him, that hee ought to stand no lesse assured, and before the blowe come, prouide for the same as well as his owne, except hee would fall into the like inconuenience that this Earle did. All the goods of Yuoy which were very great, were giuen vnto the Constable, who distributed the greatest parte vnto his owne companye, and his sonnes *Montmorency*, at which the olde bands openlye mutined, and after that began to breake themselues, and to quit their Ensignes. So the Towne being rendred vp the three and twentith day of Iune, receaued *Blaineau*, afterwards *Haucourt* for Gouernour. Mommedy (which rendred it selfe life and Iewels saued) had the Captain *Baron* a Parisian, a yong Souldier, but olde enough in warlike experience, with a hundred horse and three Ensignes, D'anuille, Yuoy, Mommedy, Luxembourg; and the most parte of the Duchie, had beene before taken by *Charles* D. of Orleans, third sonne to *Fraucis* the first, and after rendred againe by an agreement betweene the King and the Emperour; but they were not then in so good state, D'anuille was as then but a little borough Towne, and since all burned, and after reedified according to the fortifications at this day, with Bulwarkes, Bastions, and platformes of defence, the rampires large and high, and of good holde, the whole newe repayred with walles of good stuffe. Yuoy was strong, and not taken by assaulte, neither was there any reasonable breache made to enforce it; but the Captaine *Guelphe* hauing inuented, and himselfe made a great quantity of Mortier peeces, which shot exceeding great bullets from the hyll downe, so greatly astonished them, that *Gilles de Leuant*, cheefe for the Emperour yeelded himselfe, life and iewels, saued with some artillerie.

The Gouernour of a place his dutie.

Mommedy yeelded vp.

The first conquest of Luxembourg.

De Anille.

Yuoy.

During the siege of Yuoy, the Marshall of Sedan heire to the house of La March, besought the King that hee would helpe him to recouer his Duchie of Bouillon, which hee saide the Emperour vniustly detained from him, at the perswasion of the B. of Liedge, who gaue vnto him 4000. men and fiue peeces of artillerie, wherewith he battered the castle of Bouillon, which was seated vpon a high and steepe rocke, going out of a mountaine, from which it was seperate by a brode ditch and deepe, of an hundred and fiftie pace, in diameter, made by chisell & hammer with long trauell; in the plaine and circumference whereof, the better parte of the Castle is hewen out within the maine Rocke, with like workemanship almost in forme of Ouall, hauing on the

The Marshall of Sedan heire to the house of La March, vndertaketh the conqueste of the duchie of Bouillon.

on the dich ſide a platforme ſo high, as it almoſt ouertoppeth one of the Mountains: at the foote whereof is a forme of Caſemate well perced, to keepe it from any aproches: on the other end is the Portall which goeth out of euerye ſide fifteene foote, with lightes to keepe the flankers, and which ſerue for the platforme, within it is a core of antient building, in forme of a ſquare Pauillion, couered with ſlate, which vnderneath hath his ſellers vauted within the very rock, with an excellent good Well of foureſcore fadomme, the Caſtle is perced to ſo good purpoſe, that a Chicken cannot peepe vp in any place, but it will be diſcouered; furniſhed with artillerie and all other prouiſions for a long ſeaſon, receiuing but one way vnto it, and that very narrow and painefull, the borough is vnderneath, in time paſt a faire towne, but ſo torne aſunder by the warres, that it remaineth almoſt vnhabited. Semoy which commeth towards Mommedy, runneth there with a mighty fall of ſtreame, eſpecially when it ſwelleth, by reaſon of the Winter raines and ſnowes, on the one ſide it is ſhadowed with another Mountaine, full of woods and craggie rockes, ſo ſharpe that it is almoſt vnpoſſible to dwell there, nor to hurte the Caſtle on that ſide, not able to bring any Cannon, the reſt of the places are very lowe vallies and dangerous. The Marſhall notwithſtanding to make his troupes appeare greater then indeede they were, made his companies to paſſe and repaſſe many times in one ſelfe ſame place, to make it be thought that the whole French armye was there aſſembled: afterwardes hee planted his peeces vpon the Mountaine, but ſo vneaſily as they were faine to binde them hard with great and huge Cables for feare of tumbling downe, from whence there was not aboue ſix volleis ſhotte, hauing onely a little ſcratte the toppe of the wall with ſmall apparance of any breache, when as the Captaine *Baſtard* of the houſe of Haurion, very ancient in that Countrie, beſought a Parley, and obtained pardon: ſo as if hee had no ſuccour within three dayes, hee ſhould yeelde vp the place, (life and goods ſaued) the artillerie and other munitions there reſerued, and his ſonne in hoſtage. The three dayes being expired, he departed with his Liegers, the Marſhal confeſſing that he had vndertaken this conqueſt at an aduenture. Likewiſe the Captaine had his hed afterwardes ſtrooke of, for his ſo good ſeruice, Bouillon was yeelded vp the very laſt day of thirtie yeares that the Duchie had beene out of the handes of the right heires, and afterwardes the Marſhall eaſilye recouered all the appendances, and hauing lefte there *Des Auelles* with a good Garriſon, hee returned to thank the King for this ſo great a benefite: vpon this the army drawing towardes Cinets, and *de Lumes* being dead, the Caſtle of *Lumes* was deliuered vp to *Vielle-ville*, Lieutenant to the Marſhall *S. Andre* by Merembarque, who kept the ſame for the imperials, the fortes whereof were vndermined and throwne downe, no more remaining but the dungeon, which the King gaue with parte of the confiſcation of this rebellious vaſſale to the D. of Neuers, and Earle of Retel, and the reſt to *De Conſlant* a French gentleman, who had married the Neece true heire of the Lord, the Caſtle is at the foote of a Mountaine, where the riuer of Meuſe runneth by it, and on the other ſide a faire Medowe, halfe a league from Mezieres, to which it had doone many ſhrewde turnes, becauſe the Lord pretended certaine rightes, beſides that it was a retraite to all lewde perſons, an occaſion that *Francis* the firſt had there builded a blockhouſe, which for all that ſerued to no purpoſe by meanes of the euil gouernement thereof. The Lord of which had beene brought vp a Page in the Kinges houſe, and euer held the French partie, vntill that vpon ſome ſpite he changed for the Bourgonion croſſe, with which he dyed of the ſhiuer of a peece which hee tryed: afterwards the King

A wile to make ones troupes ſeeme greater and aſtoniſh the enemy.

being determined of his returne, and hauing made the D. of *Niuernois* Gouernour of Luxembourg, all alſo furniſhed Roc de Mars, and the other places with all neceſſaries, notwithſtanding the daily roades of Theonuille, and other imperial places, ſent his armye to batter, take, and cut in peeces; all thoſe that were retired into the Caſtle of Trelon, which was vndermined and raiſed, as Glaion and other places: and to content the olde Enſignes, the ſacke of Cimetz was beſtowed on them, a Towne and Caſtle of the Duke of Aſcottes, whither many of the Countrie and of Ardennes were retired, with cheefeſt goods of valewe: but ſeeing the batterye, they cleane lefte the towne, and ranne into the Caſtle, the great Tower whereof was no ſooner battered downe; but thoſe that were beſieged being willing to parley, were knocked downe by the Portail and other places, where they found an entrance to ſacke and rifle, with ſo great greedines and indiſcretion, as within one of the towre vautes where the Powder lay, were aboue ſixe ſcore Souldiars roaſted, by meanes of the fire which the kindled matches of ſome of the Harquebuſiers put thereto. After the Towne and Caſtle was conſumed to aſhes, which greatly aſtonied the Bourguinions and other the borderers, which already feared the ſiege of Auanes, whether the King had indeede cauſed his armye to marche, had it not beene for the ſickenes which day by day encreaſed among the Souldiers, of whome a good parte were alreadye ſecretly ſtolne away, ſome charged with good booties, ſome with ſickneſſe, ſome with tedious and long paines, and many with blowes more then riches, hard to be endured in warre, although but ſoddaine and of ſmall continuance, euen of the moſt hazardous. An occaſion that in the end of Iuly, the armye was parted into Garriſons, attending what the Emperour now would vndertake: who much troubled with the Proteſtant Princes army of Germany, ſaw him ſelfe then brought as it were into two extremeties: either to accorde almoſt whatſoeuer *Maurice* and his cõpanions would demaund, as well for Religion, as the libertye of Germanye, and ſo to enter into Fraunce, and reuenge ſuch iniuries as he had receiued by King *Henry*, or elſe to let him alone at his eaſe to gaine the Countrie, whereby he might another time enforce the Germanes to ſubmitte themſelues to the yoke of his power: notwithſtanding whether it were that an iniurye receiued from an equall, ſeemed vnto him more hard to be abidden, then the offence of an inferiour; and one eſpecially bound with a kinde of dutie of ſubiection, or whether hee thought himſelfe in better readines againſt the French, or whether (as ſome ſay) that his hatred conceaued againſt King *Henry*, did more paſsionate him, then againſt any other Prince; the Emperour reſolued himſelfe of a peace with Germany, as it were to eſpouſe a warre with Fraunce, by ſuch meanes as I will deliuer vnto you.

Cimetz battered, taken, ſacked, and burned by the French.

Maurice ſtood principally vpon two pointes, beſides the deliuerye of the *Landgraue*; the one, that *Ferdinand* with *Maximilian* his Sonne, and the commiſsioners, might from thence take notice of ſuch matters as were hurtefull to the libertye of Germanye, and iudge thereof according to the ancient cuſtome of Germanye: the other, that Religion ſhould be let alone in peace, and no harme in reſpect thereof to any man in the Worlde, vntill the difference might be decided. The Commiſſioners allowed of this forme, but the Emperour ſhewed what hee deſired and iudged fitte, how it was reaſonable that ſuch as had euer remained loyall towards him, and thereby greatly fallen into calamities; might receiue recompence for their loſſes. After long debating and ſome articles eaſed, it was concluded that the Emperour ſhould giue his full anſwere by the third of Iulye, and that in the meane time there ſhould bee a truce

The principall demaunds of Maurice.

truce and ceſſation of armes: The Commiſſioners then ſent their letters to the Emperour the 26. of Iune, to exhorte him to a peace. Afterwards the French Embaſſadour being preſſed to deliuer the occaſions of his Maiſters diſcontentment, and vnder what conditions he would enter into a peace: hauing receaued newes from his Maſter, anſwered, that the King had not vndertaken this warre in reſpect of his own particular, but to ſuccour Germany ſo farre going to decay: as touching the conditions of peace, it was not the cuſtome of the Kings of Fraunce to demaund it as became themſelues in all reſpects: therefore he did not thinke he had any cauſe to propoſe ought, without an aſſured hope of obtaining the ſame: eſpeciallye conſidering that the Emperour had moſt vniuſtly made warre againſt him, while he marched for their ſuccours; notwithſtanding he would quit much for a peace, ſo as he might ſee it generall, and refuſed not but that they might take kuowledge, and determine of theſe differents, to which if *Charles* would not doe reaſon, he proteſted the fault ſhuld onely light of his necke, for all the miſeries which might enſue thereon.

The French Embaſſadours anſwere to the Commiſſioners for peace.

In ſumme, that theſe Princes perceiuing the delaies of the Emperour, had no ſooner beſieged Francforte, where was a great Garriſon of the Emperours, but by the aduiſe of the moſt parte of the Princes of Germanye, the peace was concluded the laſt of Iulye 1552. See the occaſions which draue the one and the other to conclude the ſame. Among other reaſons the great danger was laide before *Maurice*, which he ſhould ſtand in, as well on the Emperours ſide which had alreadye prepared a great armie, as of his Coſins behalfe *Iean Frederic*, whom the Emperour meant to ſend home free into his Countrie. The Emperour likewiſe ſtoode in feare of the force of the Germanes and of the French. The *Landgraues* ſonne for the long detention of his Father. Among other articles the Captiue Princes were to be ſet at libertie, no diſquiet for their Religion, which they would aduiſe of at the firſt aſſembly; within ſixe moneths the King of Fraunce was to declare vnto *Maurice* his demaunds: *Albert* was comprehended therein if he layde downe armes. The King miſliked with the whole courſe, yet hee ſent back the Hoſtages, and *Maurice* his: to wit, the Earle of Nanteuil, and Iametz.

Peace throughout Germany, and the occaſions thereof.

The Hiſtorie of Fraunce.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

YOu haue heere before ſeene what preparatiues the Emperour, and the Catholicke Princes confederate for Religion, made of all partes, againſt the Proteſtant Princes, to furniſh the great armye that they might be able, to the end they might range them at deuotion. The Germanes notwithſtanding had the partie and were ſo well ſuccoured, as at the laſt the Emperour accorded parte of their demaunds at Pauſau, in the ende of Iuly, vpon conditions ouer and aboue before rehearſed, that *Maurice* ſhould carrie ſuch people as he had to the ſuccour of *Ferdinand* King of Romanes, againſt the Turkes come downe into Tranſiluania. Afterwardes the Emperour extreamelye fretting at ſuch loſſes as King *Henry* had cauſed him to receaue, fearing worſe, and maruelouſly affected to a reuenge, practiſed by all meanes poſſible, to perſwade the Chriſtian Princes, and aboue all the Germanes, to ſuccour him againſt the King, whome he endeuoured to render, a no leſſe enemy to the Empire, then to his owne particular: hee preuailed at laſt ſo farre by the dexterity of his owne wit, that the reſt of the Princes and imperiall citties as well of the aſſociation as other, were by little and little gained to furniſh him with men, monie, and artillerie; cheefelye in reſpect that hee proteſted that hee would not imploye any parte thereof to his owne particular, but onely to the recouering of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, three free Cities, and holding of the Empire, which the King of Fraunce (ſaid he with a diſcourſe very ſtout and full of great perſwaſions) had withdrawne from the Empire of the Germanes, vnder colour of comming to aide them for the maintenance of their Religion & libertie, which ſaid he is not to be preſumed for many reaſons, but principally for the diuerſitie of the religion, whereof he hath alwaies made profeſsion, and by the effect which enſued thereon: hauing ſo much diſmembred the Germane Empire, which he had more annoied, had hee beene permitted to haue paſſed the Rhin, and entred into the Countrie full of garboyles and factions of all partes, whereof he full well knew how to make his profite; for his owne parte hee promiſed, that hee would employ therein all his forces and meanes, to repaire ſo great an iniury: therefore he haſtned the olde Spaniſh and Italian bands, which he cauſed to come out of Italye, both by Sea and land; which being ioyned to the troupes of Lombardy and Piemont, trauerſed the Alpes, to repaire to the reſt of the armie, which was aſſembled

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well for the opinion of his valour, as the credit and reputation which hee had in all those Countries) for the entertaining of his armye, who to take from him all occasion of discontentment vpon any refusall (albeit it had bene reasonable) did his best to helpe him with some for certaine dayes; which notwithstanding being otherwise considered of by him, he ceased not to importunate him from day to day, to yeelde the same vnto him in as great an abundance, as if there had beene no question but of taking all at his own pleasure, without any regarde to the future necessitie, nor to the place where this Prince was ordained, the time of his keeping thereof: being altogether vncertaine. In summe, that he so hardly pressed him and so often, that hee was constrained to declare vnto him by *Pierre Strosi*, how the reason of the warre which hee was not ignorant of, permitted not that one should disfurnish a place of guarde, (chiefely of such importance of Metz) of victuals and prouisions whereof it should be furnished, to distribute them to a Campe, which might be master of the field, and follow any other way or Country, as towards Sallines, a most fertile Countrie, wherin he should not onely finde all commodities: but in eating and consuming thereof, he should the more disaduantage the enemye, in not being able to recouer the like there. At which seeming to content himselfe, he demanded some guide, which knew the Country, and might conduct him and lead him thither: whereto was ordained by the Duke of Guise, and expressely sent from Metz, one *Gaspard de Hus*, a natiue Gentleman of Metz: notwithstanding in very short space he changed his minde, for instead of taking the waye towardes Sallines, hee came the more neerer within one league to Metz, and encamped in a place called Acy, where he made some stay, vsing all the seales which he could imagine, for vnder colour to gaine the good grace of the Emperour by some remarqueable seruice, entising the Duke of Guise to giue him some trauerses, or to trouble him by some disorder, had not the Prudence of that Prince bene so great as to foresee and remedy the same. Then hauing by diuers remoues trauersed all that Countrie, and being turned towards Treues, to fetche there a number of Souldiers which he had left there, he came downe to Pont Camouson, neuer hauing for al that resolued any thing with the B. of Bayonne, either of his own appointment, or pay of his people: albeit that the King had againe sent back *Lonsac* vnto him for the very same cause; notwithstanding he could conclude vpon nothing with him, trasning alwaies the effect in diuersitie of demaundes, coloured with faire wordes, whereon it was a very vneasie matter to laye any foundation, and therefore they entred into the greater suspition of him, so as the first mistrust began to encrease more then before: wherefore with as much speed as might be the King who hauing knowne the Emperours intents and preparatiues, had alreadye caused all his Garrisons, bandes and arriere bandes, and other new companies, to repaire vnto Champagne, made his Campe to assemble at S. Michel, a little towne of Lorraine, vpon the riuer of Meuse, sixe leagues on the side of Pont Camouson, as farre from Verdun, and ten long ones from Metz, whether likewise repaired the Constable, the D. of Neuers, the Earle of Anguien, the Prince of Conde, the Earle of Aumale, the Vicecount of Rohan, the Marshall *S. Andre*, *Chastillon* generall of the French Fanterie, the Earle of Villars, *Bourdillon* then ordained Marshall of the Campe, the Earle *Reingrave*, and Reiroc, with their Regimentes of Lansquenets, and sundrye other great Lords and Captains.

The behauiour of Marqueſſe Albert of Brandeboorge towards the D. of Guiſe, gouernour of Metz, and his towards the Marqueſſe his aemit.

The French armie assembled with all diligẽce at S. Michael, a little towne of Lorraine.

As touching the Imperiall armie, it was altogether readie, and grew great by view of the eye, hauing so farre already marched, as being arriued at Deux ponts, it extended it selfe throughout all the Countrie of Vaulges, in sorte that it was very requisite to lodge

The imperiall army at Deux-ponts scattered ouer the Country of Vaulges.

lodge,and cauſe to enter into Metz all ſuch ſuccours,as well of men,of artillerie, and other munition,as had beene determined to be ſent thether, and therefore the moſt commodiouſly that hee was able,the Conſtable ſent from Saint Michael the companies of horſe and foote which were ordained to this purpoſe vnder the charge and conduct of *Horace Farneze* Duke of Caſtres,carrying with him a number of pioners, and ſtore of pouder,for the better ſtrengthning of the towne, though not in ſo great quantitie,for all that,as the Conſtable could haue wiſhed,and as hee had done,without the feare he had of the Marqueſſe,who was alwayes at Pont-Camouſon, his men being ouer the plaine Country round about,giuen to all inſolencies of warre,pilling, & leauing not ought but what they made no account of, or could not carrie or beare away. The which was found very ſtrange,and greatly augmented the diſtruſt which might be had of him. Notwithſtanding to bring him to ſome reaſon,they ſent vnto him the Duke of Aumalle,de Chaſtillon,and the Earle of Reingraue, to praye him to cauſe his people to leaue of their waſting and ſpoiling of the Countrie: and finally to reſolue with him the laſt accord of his appointment and paye of men. Then they ſoone inough diſcouered what had bin before conceiued of him but as it were in a cloud,rendering ſo ambiguous & haughtie an anſwere,with a ſpitefull and malecontent ieſture,that he demanded almoſt the moitie of a kings ranſome for appointment. And as touching the order of his mens liuing, hee ſhewed that he had alreadie ſetled his affaires,anſwering in the end with an aſſured reſolution,that he was a friend to the king,and an allie to the houſe of Lorrain,but hee meant that his ſouldiers ſhould haue wherewithall to liue,and take it where they could find it, in caſe of refuſall,he was reſolued what he had to do,and whether to retire himſelfe: yea,ſo far,as refuſing to receiue ſuch monie as the Conſtable had ſent vnto him. Whereby they well perceiued how he was reconciled to the Emperor, by the practiſe of ſome . Who perceiuing that he was out of his reach for doing him any harme, and that he had himſelfe great need of people,pardoned him all his faults,and forbad that any ſhould make his proceſſe in reſpect of the war paſſed: ratified the contracts made with the B. of Bamberg and Wicibourg,releaſed him of going to the war in Hungary, yea,ſo farre as to agree with him the more,he pardoned the Earles of Itigen, both father and ſon, & *Albert de Mansfeld* and his children. Now the Emperor lying ſicke of his gouts, and as well for this cauſe,as for the importunitie of the time,his armie ſoiourning in the countye of Vaulges,with as great dilligence as was poſſible,they placed againe the French army at S. Michel,ſtrengthned it as well with the French Fanterie, Germans & Zuizers,to the number neere hand of 30000. footmen,and betweene ſeuen and eight thouſand horſe: wherefore the French began to hope better than euer, ſo as the aduiſe of ſome was to charge vpon the Marques whileſt that the greater armie of the enemie was ſo far of,the meanes were the gallantnes of the French armie,the diſcontentment of the Marqueſſes people,not able beſides to make anie retrait into anie place, wherein they ſhould not be purſued as enemies for their inſolencies paſſed,preſent,& to come. Other preuailed in councell,which perſwaded that it would be better to goe more couertly to worke, and vnderhand to withdraw the better part of his captains & ſouldiers,by meanes of ſuch Germanes as were alreadie come to the kings ſeruice, with aſſurance of redie paie & good intertainment to come. Which was ſo wel handled,that with a great mutiny hapned between themſelues,the colonell *Reiſ-berg* with his regiment,accepted from thence forward of the French party. Wherat the marques being extreamly deſpited,and ſeeing otherwiſe how the armie of France,which euerie day was mightily increaſed,grew neere neighbor vnto him: how alredie men murmured

The Marques Alberts armie verie diſſolute about Pont Camouſon.

The laſt anſwere or reſolution of the marques to the French,and the behauiour of his armie.

Colonel Reiſberg with a regiment of the marques Alberts,retireth himſelf to the kings ſeruice

agaynſt him, and how his ſouldiers mutined among themſelues, whereof many both couertly and in ſight were retired to the French, and how through all theſe accidents he was in danger to be ſurpriſed and incloſed, hee certefied the Conſtable, howe that ſince it pleaſed not the King to entertaine him into his ſeruice, not willing to accorde vnto him reaſonable appoyntment and paie, his requeſt was to haue a ſafe conduct to depart, proteſting that in other places of his enemies Countrie, he was able to doo vnto him as good or better ſeruice as there, and could conquere landes, which might perpetually remaine vnto him without ſticking at a trifle: aſſuring him notwithſtanding vpon his faith, neuer to take parte wyth the Emperour agaynſt him. The King beeing aduertiſed heereof, and the matter thoroughly debated of in Councell, grew of opinion howe it was much more expedient, to make a bridge to a mans enemie, ſeeking to retire, than to put armes into the furnace to heate him anie more, as well to aſſure the people of the violent comming of the man, ſeeking nought but his owne aduenture wythout reſpect of his lyfe, as alſo honeſtly to conuoie and conduct him, for in beeing willing to fight with him by ſtrong hande, albeit that fortune were fauourable, yet coulde not the victorie remayne but wyth great loſſe, peraduenture of many braue men, whereof the King as then ſtoode in great neede, a farre greater enemie beeing at hande than the other, as alſo to the ende it might not bee reproached vnto him to haue defeated one which came to his ſuccours, eſpecially a Germane, one of the moſt auncient friendes and confederates of the French. To this end was the Biſhoppe of Bayonne lefte neere about him for his better ſuretie and conduct, to cauſe him to haue a ſafe and free paſſage thoroughout all the Kinges Countries. Of the other parte the Duke of Aumalle was appoynted to accompanie him with two hundred men at armes, and fiue hundred light horſe, to hinder anie of his men from ſpoyling or ruining anie of the kings ſubiects. For during the three weekes that *Albert* made his abode neere de Thoul vppon Mozelle, they vnderſtood of ſo ſtraunge diſorder, and moſt exceſsiue exceſſes, which his people dyd as well to the Nobles, as peſants and church men, that in the ende perceiuing howe the Duke of Aumalle, to whome they addreſſed themſelues, tolde them that hee was not able to haue anie other reaſon at his handes, albeit hee had certefied him thereof, they aſſembled themſelues to kil and truſſe vp as many as they were able. Whereof he greatly complained to the Duke, who aunſwered him that hee woulde haue regarde to his duetie, leauing him the paſſage free, but hee had gone agaynſt his worde in permitting ſo great an inſolencie. Conſtrayned in the ende to diſplace, hee went and incamped neere vnto a poole vppon a mariſh, where in the night it rayned ſo harde, as hee thought hee ſhoulde neuer haue founde meanes to eſcape thence, eſpeciallye his Artillerie ſticking faſt in the myre, and bemoyled euen to the verie axiltree and truckes of the carriages, where the Duke of Aumalle had fayre meanes to haue cleane ruyned him, wythout the loſſe of anie one man, had hee beene ſo diſpoſed to haue done.

The Marques demandeth paſport to returne.

The D. of Aumal appointed to accompanie the Marques.

October was now well ſpent, when the imperiall armie as yet remained in the Countrie of Vaulges, and towardes Deuxponts, the Emperour ſtill continuing very ill diſpoſed, as alſo for that hee attended ſuccours out of the Low Countries, which were not as yet arriued, and his artillerie and munition which hee cauſed to bee brought downe the Rhine as farre as Confluence, from thence the eaſier all along the riuer of Moſelle, to make it bee landed almoſt harde by Metz. And for that the ſharpeſt coldes of the winter beginne in this ſeaſon, ſuch a delaie cauſed a number of perſons to bee of opinion, that the Emperour woulde not ſo late vndertake a ſiege

Aduice & counſell among the Emperors Captaines, if they ought to beſiege Metz at that time of the yere.

a ſiege of ſo great conſequence, and that he would not expoſe ſo fayre and well com-
pleat an armie, to thinke to vanquiſh both the rigor of the time, and a Towne ſo well
prouided, as all the Captaines imagined: who councelled him rather to aſſaie the re-
couerie of the reſt of the townes, as wel of the Dutchie of Lorraine, as of Barois and
Luxenbourg, in which hee might well cauſe his armie to winter, and keep e it coue-
red from the euill ſeaſon, in which meane time they of Metz ſhoulde bee conſtray-
ned to ſpend their victuals, and conſume their munitions, beeing continually not-
withſtanding held in ſubiection by ſuch roads as the ſouldiers ſhould dayly make vp-
pon them, and the Countrie about more and more to affeeble them, and cleane take
awaie all meanes from them to recouer victualles; whereof towardes the ſpring they
woulde ſtande in ſo great neceſsitie, as they might then eaſily ſet vppon them to their
greater aduantage. Shewing further, how that before he cold wel diſpoſe and appoint
the ſiege of this ſo great a towne, and that his artillerie could be planted and prepared
for the batterie, winter would ſo hardly bee come on, that it woulde be a cauſe of in-
terrupting all his meanes, as well by reaſon of ſnowes, windes, raines, and extreame
froſts, cauſing a great number of his ſouldiers to die, as through the difficultie which
they ſhould haue to recouer victualls, beeing detayned and ſtayed backe by the con-
ſtraint and indiſpoſition of the time, as alſo in hauing them oftentimes bee met with,
and taken awaie by the French. Beſides all that, together with the loſſe that myght
fortune him to receiue there, ſuch and ſo great a ſhame, as hee would rather wiſh it
had coſt him the crowne of his Empire, ſo as hee had not beene at all there. For after
hauing combatted, and beene in part defeated by the furie and violence of the time,
he ſhould finde beſides another enemie ſtrong and puiſſant, which attended but one-
ly an occaſion to ruine him for euer. This aduice though it were the moſt certayne
for the Emperours ſecuritie, yet could it not by anie meanes bee receiued of him, for
his ſpirite beeing pricked forward and ſolicited by an extreame deſire of beeing re-
uenged, forgot all accidents and perils, to bee happily reſolued in the end of one one-
ly point, whereby hee might knowe but how to bee reuenged of the King. And a-
mong others it ſeemed beſt vnto him, firſt to addreſſe himſelfe to the towne of Metz,
within which hee well knew were many of the principall Princes and great Lords of
France: and that beſides, it was perfectly furniſhed and prouided with great ſtore of
munition. Wherfore it ſeemed vnto him, that if by the ſurplus of the reſt of that yere,
hee could worke ſo wel, as to be able only to recouer it, hee might eaſily by meanes
of ſuch priſoners as he ſhould find therein, obtaine and get againe at the kings hands
whatſoeuer he had taken from him, perſwading himſelfe that he would help himſelf
with the French mens owne roddes and preparatiues to conſtraine them therto, and
that being come once to the top, and hauing ſubdued this firſt and principall fortres,
wherein was the verie flower of the French ſouldiers, hee eaſily promiſed to himſelfe
the compaſsing of his leſſer enterpriſes. So as in the end the Emperour marched with
his armie towardes the riuer of Moielle, neuer following for all that the right waie, as
if hee had meant to deſcend towards Theonuille, and the Dutchie of Luxembourg.
Whereof the Duke of Guiſe beeing aduertiſed, not willing to looſe or leaue in praye
one of the olde Enſignes of Captaine *La Prade*, which was within Roc de Mars,
tooke ſo good order; as in the ſight of his enemies, the rather by the meanes of a skir-
miſh which the Duke of Nemours, and the Earle of La Roche-foucaut made before
Theonuille, the Enſigne hauing ſet all the Caſtle on fire, was retyred and ſaued, to-
gether wyth the better part of the Artillerie which was therein.

The Conſtable in the meane time who ſtill remained at S. Michel to ſee and know what courſe the Emperour ment to take, hauing intelligence how the imperiall armye marched, holding on that way, doubting the euent of ſundrye thinges, among other, leaſt leauing of Metz, it might addreſſe it ſelfe to Verdun, which was not ſtrong enough, nor almoſt of any reaſonable defence, or to ſome feeble towne or vnprouided, cauſed the French armie in like ſorte to march, and approched nere vnto Verdun, in which as then the Marſhall *S. Andre* remained Lieutenant for the King, with his company of one hundred men at armes, and *Tauannes* which was gouernor with his company of fiftie men at armes, and eight Enſignes of French Fanterie, of the legion of Champagne, two companies of light horſe, and as many Harquebuſiers on horſeback, who without ceaſing either day or night, cauſed them to trauaile about the fortification, replenithing otherwiſe this great Towne, with corne, wines, and all other ſortes of victuals, which they could finde round about. As much did *Rabaudanges* Gouernour of D'Anuille, and *De Blanſau* then Gouernour of Yuoy, and the Captain *Baron* Gouernour of Mommedy, ſtriuing as it were with a kinde of enuye, and forcing themſelues who ſhould beſt better his place; for albeit that they were already ſtrong and well appointed, yet did they continually watch to aduaunce thereto whatſoeuer they might preſume to be wanting therin. Now there reſted no more but the towne of Satenay, by corrupt ſpeech called Aſtenay: which the Imperials being already in the field, men doubted might be firſt aſſaulted and taken on the ſuddain, vnprouided of euery thing, as indeed it was: albeit that before time the late King *Francis* had cauſed it to be repaired and fortified, to ſerue him for ſome ſhadow or colour, againſt thē of the duchie of Luxembourg: ſince notwithſtanding the euill ſcituation thereof hauing bene declared vnto him, and how much more hurtefull it would grow vnto him, if after hauing fortified it, it ſhould happen to fall into the enemies hand, he cauſed the fortes and bulwarkes in many places to be caſt down and raced, and the flankers and defences to be ruined; putting it againe in this ſorte to the domanie of the Duke of Lorraine, ſometime after notwithſtanding the King hauing again recouered it, and thruſt out the Bourgonians which had ſeaſed therof, and began to repaire it as you haue ſeene, to aide themſelues againſt him, euer ſince helde it in his owne handes, without adding for all that any new fortification, but onelye to hinder that it ſhould not be hurtfull vnto himſelfe. Heereupon afterwardes hauing bene ſhewed vnto him by the D. of Neuers, how it might be made ſtrong & defenſable, and that himſelfe without any danger would vndertake to keep it, he commanded that all means and deuiſes ſhould be ſought out to fortifie it with al diligence: to which this Prince voluntarily rendred himſelfe ſo ſubiect, that any great labour ſeemed to him but a pleaſure, for the perfecting of his work, which he had in ſo great recōmendation, that much and the principal part therof was found wel forward before euer it was imagined that the foūdations were as yet laid; & not only that, but hauing intelligence how in a little town named Vireton within 5. leagues of Satenay, there were a number of theeues & banniſhed perſons aſſembled, liuing vpon nothing but theft & ſpoiles, which they made about the country, forſeeing further that if the ſiege ſhuld fortune to come before Satenay, that this receptackle of brigands would ſerue very fitly to his enemies, to retire thither their victual, munitions & other neceſſaries, hee ſurpriſed them ſo fortunately, as in a morning before that euer they could haue thought him awake, hauing no means to ſaue thēſelues, or to haue reskew from their partners, they ſawe themſelues encloſed and enwrapped by this Prince, accompanyed with ten Enſignes of French Fanterie: to wit, two of Verdun, two of D'anuille, 2. of Yuoy,

Vireton ſurpriſed and beſieged through the ſecret and great diligence of the D. of Neuers.

of Yuoy, two of Mommedy, and two of Satenay; of Caualerie of the companies of the Duke of Bouillon, of Iametz, and of La Roche du Maine, of light horſe and Harquebuſiers on horſeback, of Captaine *Sapoigne*, and ſundrye Gentlemen of his owne houſe, ſo as being arriued before this towne in this ſorte, to the end readilye to execute his determination, he cauſed it to be battered as ſoddenly as might be, without giuing any leaſure at all to make any trench, or dreſſe any baskets of earth, but the artillery being onely couered with Cartes, Tables, dores, Waggons, and ſuch geare, as at that inſtant they were able to finde to put before it, he ſo planted it and cunningly trauerſed it to the marke, that the wall was greatlye ſhaken, and a very reaſonable breach made; the which they within endured without any ſemblance at all of feare, or willingnes to yeelde themſelues. The French Souldiers ſeeing the gappe, had ſo burning a deſire to goe to the aſſault, as being impatient of temporiſing, and without tarrying for the Generals commaundement *La Cheſne* Enſigne to Captaine *La Land*, followed with ſome number of Souldiers, ranne haſtelye into the ditche with his head forwards, to thruſt right into the breach, who notwithſtanding was valiantlye put back by the Bourgonions, and ſore hurt, whereof afterwardes hee died. *Arbelay* likewiſe the Enſigne of Captain *Baron* was there ſlaine, and many valiant Souldiers. In the end they within beſieged, ſeeing the reſt of the preparations, and not finding themſelues prouided, nor ſtrong enough to ſuſtaine a generall aſſaulte, made a ſigne of being deſirous to parley, requiring that ſome reſpit might be giuen vnto thē within, who if they had not readily ſuccours, promiſed to yeelde themſelues, their liues and goods ſaued. The Duke of Neuers would by no meanes accord vnto them one onely howre of delay, but anſwered that if they did not yeelde themſelues at the inſtant vnto his diſcretion, their liues ſaued, he would cauſe them al to paſſe by the edge of the ſword; ſo as hauing a while conſidered of the danger, they yeelded themſelues to the mercy and diſcretion of the Duke, which happened in very good time, for there remained no more but two bullets of a Culuerin left: they being gone out, to the end no leaſure ſhould be giuen to the French ſouldiers to amuſe about the ſpoile, fire was put in diuers places of the Towne: as for the Priſonners the Duke of Neuers had alreadye giuen them leaue to departe, when as they were as well known vnto the Captaine *Sapoigne* their neighbour, Sonne to *Gilles de Leuant* ſometimes gouernour of Luxembourg, againſt whom *Sapoigne* declared vnto the Duke, that the honeſteſt man among them all had one hundred times deſerued death, and how hee ſhould ſhew them too much fauour to ſaue their liues, for if he ſhould ſet thē at liberty, it would be a means to make them do more harme to the French: Therefore the greateſt part of them were retained and carried priſonners to Satenaye, afterwardes ſome were ſent backe, the principall being reſerued, cheefely the Captain *Dalumont* otherwiſe *Malladerie*, and his enſigne named *Arbonniere*: all theſe matters being thus happely atchieued in one onely day, the armie returned the ſame very night to lodge at Satenay with all the companies, except thoſe of Mommedy, who in reſpect they were neere hand retired as then from the place, cōmandement being giuen, that they ſhould dayly repaire thither by hundreds, to make euen with the ground the reſt of Vireton, which the fire was not able to waſte or conſume, and on the next morrowe hauing diſpatched *S. Simon* to carry newes vnto the K. who continually remained at Reims, and cōmanded *Deſpotz* Gouernour of Satenay, to receaue of the inhabitants within the town, the oath of fidelity in the K. name, he dparted towards the cōſtable, who cauſed the armye to temporiſe, attending what the Emperour would attempt;

Vireton rendred vp to the diſcretion and mercy of the D. of Neuers.

who finding all his forces aſſembled, and the ſuccours which he attended out of the low Countries being arriued, tooke the high way againe towards Metz, and was approched as farre as Sarabuc, ſeuen leagues from thence: and a few dayes after the D. of Alua, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, and the Marqueſſe of Marignan Colonell of the Italian Fantaſsins, with fourteene thouſand foote, foure thouſand horſe, and ſixe fielde peeces, approched ſo neere as to diſcouer the Towne, and the fitteſt places for to pitch their Campe in, which was not doone without a furious and braue skirmiſh of the French ſouldiars, who being ſallied forth, for a beginning made them well to perceiue and feele with what affection they were determined to defend themſelues, and maintaine the place, wherein the French as then atchiued great reputation as well of the Duke of Guiſe as of their enemies: who afterwardes retired themſelues to S. Barbe, two leagues back, with ſmall aduauntage, and loſſe of neere hand eight or nine ſcore men, and of French men there was loſt *Marigny Picard*, iſſued out of the auncient and moſt renowmed houſe of Salezart, and fiue Souldiers which were ſlaine on the place, *Sylly Mompha* and the Captaine *La Vaure*, dyed there of their wounds.

The Imperial armie approcheth within 7. or 8 leagues of Metz.

The D. of Alua and Marqueſſe of Marignan came to deſcry Metz.

In the meane time the D. of Aumalle ſtanding well aſſured of all the plattes and ſollicitings which they practiſed with the Marqueſſe *Albert*, aduertiſed the K. thereof who was at Reims, to the end to prouide of all ſides, as wel on that part as towards Picardie, certifying him that the moſt expedient way was rather to ſet vpon him, thē to ſuffer him to ioyne with the enemy, and ſo to make him the ſtronger, and to bring that to paſſe, he let him to vnderſtand that with ſuch meanes as hee already had two hundred men at armes, would be ſufficient to defeate him. The King made anſwere that hee liked his deuice very well, prouided that it were wiſely executed, and without too much hazard, and preſently hee commaunded *Bourdillon* to goe and ioyne with him with a hundred men at armes, and obey him wherein ſoeuer for his ſeruice hee would imploye him: whereupon hee came towardes him within three leagues, neere vnto which place, hee readily aduertiſed him how by the Kings commaundement, with all poſsible diligence he had made his repaire towards him, to obey him, beſeeching him to ſignifie his pleaſure, and what he was to doe. The D. of Aumalle anſwered him that he was maruelouſly contented at his ſo great diligence vſed, and that the Marqueſſe hauing already paſſed ouer the riuer of Muze, was ready likewiſe to goe ouer the other of Madon, to retire himſelfe to the Emperours Campe, and he knew not any great meanes how to follow him any longer: wherfore in breefe he determined to retire himſelfe to Thoul, to make warre againſt the enemie. This anſwere was the cauſe that *Bourdillon* ſtirred not from Blanieau attending his returne. Three daies after notwithſtanding the D. of Aumalle ſent his Trumpetter with letters to the Marqueſſe, to ſuck alwaies ſome intelligence from him: but ſo it was as finding him at the borough of S. Nicolas, whether he was gone with a ſmall companie to conclude with the Emperours Deputies, making ſmall account of thoſe letters; the Trumpetter was ſtaied, to the end that readily returning hee might not diſcouer the ſecret, nor make reporte of what he had ſeene: who maruelling greatlye at this ſtrange entertainement, went to the Marqueſſes truchman for it was tolde him that hee had beene brought vp in Fraunce, thinking by that meanes that hee would haue carried ſome good affection to haue pleaſured thoſe of that Nation, whence he had receaued all kinde of curteſie, but contrariwiſe hee found him a braue and preſumptuous Gallant, who iudged himſelfe of the higheſt valour, by reaſon of the familiaritie which he had with his Maſter. The Trumpetter beſought him to procure

The D. of Aumalles aduertiſement to the K. vpon the determination of the Marqueſſe of Brandebourg.

The D. de Aumales trumpetter ſtaied by the Marqueſſe Albert.

his

his diſpatch and returne. He contrariwiſe without making any anſwere at al to his requeſt, railed extreamely at the French, and wiſhing vnto them a thouſand curſes, he proteſted with great oaths, that before it were long he would bathe himſelfe in their bloud. So the Trumpetter was enforced to tarrie vntill the Thurſday before the day wherein the defeate ſhould be accompliſhed, as they tolde him, and how that the morrowe after he ſhould returne with his anſwere: which came not to paſſe for all that: for that day all things being changed to the worſe, the Trumpeter was more rigorouſly entreated then before, led, bound faſt, wrong hard, and trained, as if howerlye hee expected nought elſe then to be hanged or dye miſerably. Thus the Marqueſſe had determined the next morrowe to take his way to the Emperours Camp, and there reſted nothing but to vnite and appeaſe ſome of his Captains & Souldiers, who had no great minde to turne their face to take oath to the Emperor, in reſpect of the euill entertainment which they had found both at his hands and the Spaniards, in the wars paſſed. The 28. of October the D. D'aumalle being enformed of this departure, diſlodged at the break of day, with al his Caualerie from the Port of S. Vincent, where he lay, and put himſelfe in battell vpon the toppe of an high mountaine called La Croiz du Montier, aboue the Marqueſſe, to conſider well and viewe what he would doe, and what courſe he would take; who in like ſorte ordered his battailes to follow his intended way, without hauing any opinion at that daye to fight with the French: yet theſe two armies were not long time neighbours, but that the skirmiſhes began hottely, as well by the Countrie people as ſome French Souldiers, who were runne thither hoping to robbe and ſpoile ſome bootie at the taile of the Marqueſſe. To whom reporte thereof was made two or three times before hee would beleeue ought, anſwering that the D. D'aumalle did not make ſearch after him. It was about the beginning of Nouember that theſe plaintes redoubling of all partes, himſelfe with his truchman, would needs goe ſee how true indeede it was, where hee was very fiercely repulſed, ſo as with a Harquebuſe ſhot his truchman was ſlaine hard by him, which moued him in ſuch ſorte, as returning to his people, and with liuelye and affectionate praiers and exclamations, hauing declared vnto them, how the D. D'aumalle with a great number of French Caualerie, attended them in the paſſage to hew them in peeces, and that the leaſt that could befall them was death, which they could by no meanes eſcape without doing ſome notable and great exploite, hee vſed all paines and meanes to encourage them to the Combate, laying down before them in like ſorte, that if they had any doubt of the rigour and puniſhment of the Emperour, they were much leſſe to hope or looke for any better entertainement of the French. All theſe perſwaſions could no whit for all that moue the Fanterie of *Albert*, who mutining for want of pay, refuſed so goe any further; but well the Caualerie, eſpecially the chieftanes, and aboue all; *George* of the noble familye of Lichtebergh, who was as in the Proteſtants war his Lieutenant generall: the which fiercely went to charge vpon the companies of the D. D'aumalle, who was vpon the point and determination to retire, albeit that the B. of Bayonne egged him forward to the defeate of the Marqueſſe: but it was ſo late that they were already at hand to ioyne together, and to fight with ſo extreme euill lucke, as at the firſt reencounter they mette with a troupe of ſeruants, who had beene ſet in that place but to make a ſhew; whome they incontinently put to flight: and by and by charged vpon an other ſquadron of light horſe, and Harquebuſiers on horſeback, the which in like ſorte they diſordered, finding an onnerture without fight to charge vpon the very ranks of the men of warre, which they ſet vppon and cauſed to recoyle with Piſtoll ſhotte, as troupes and com-

The couragious perſwaſions of the Marqueſſe to make his people to fight.

The D. de Aumelle and the French charged vpon fiercely.

The D. companies put to flight by the Marqueſſe.

panies euil prouided of Lances to defend themſelues. The D. of Aumalle ſeeing his cauallerie thus broken, and fled on all hands, greatly agreeued, and foreſeeing an vnhappy end to enſue this enterpriſe, willed *Breze* the Lieutenant of his company to retire, and the beſt way that he might be able to ſaue his company. Afterwards notwithſtanding ſeeing the great fire kindled neere vnto him, and the enemies much intermingled with the principall troupe of his men of war, and neereſt to his perſon, where the cõbate was moſt ſharp, and the enemies couragiouſly reskued, by the ſmall nũber which was there of gentlemen, he ioyned him togither with thoſe few that he had left, crying vnto them with a ſmiling and aſſured countenance; my ompanions, my freends, Battaile; Battaile, afterwards abandoning himſelfe to fortune, which hee had euer notwithſtanding ſo ill cheered, and entertained vntill then, without reſpect of his life, with the Sword in his fiſt he thruſt into the preſſe, and did as many great actes as was poſſible for him to doe; but the throng of his enemies continually waxed greater, and the number of his owne diminiſhed, as well by being abandoned by thoſe which fled, as by the death of the braueſt men ſlaine and beaten downe before him, other ſore wounded, and vnhorſed, taken, & led away priſoners: in ſuch ſort as himſelfe ſore hurt with two Piſtoll ſhot in the body, and in his head, the horſe ſlayne vnder him, was in the end thrown down & taken. The B. of Bayonne ſaued himſelf, the Vicecount of Rohan was there ſlaine, for as 2. Germanes which held him priſonner had already taken from him his head peece, quarrelling who ſhould haue him, arriued a third, who after many diſputes ſhot him into the brayne with a Piſtoll, whereof he preſently dyed. He was greatly lamented of all men, as one who greatlye contraried, and withſtoode ſtiffely this enterpriſe: the company of D. D'aumalle was almoſt all there defeated, and among other of renowne were ſlaine *De Nancay* guidon of the ſaide company; *De la Motie Duſeau* guidon of the Vidame of *Charſtres* companie, the guidon of the Earle of *Sancerres* company, *S. Forgeus* Captaine of the light horſe, the Baron of Couches, *De Ioncy* the yongeſt of the houſe of Rochebaron in Charollois, the yong *Vaux*, and ſundry other Gentlemen to the number of two hundred, of Priſonners remained many, together with the D. D'aumalle, among other *Deſguilly* maſter of the Camp of light horſe, the Baron of Guerres, and *De* lieutenant of the Vidaſme of Charſtres company, who for not being known, and by the helpe of their freends, eſcaped for a ſmall raunſome. As for *Bourdillon* the ſame night ſome ſpeeches hauing bene reported vnto him, which the paiſans comming from thence vſed touching the defeate, preſently cauſed a Gentleman of his company to mount on horſeback, accompanied with ſome other to goe learne the matter better, and bring him the certainty thereof: afterwards within a ſhort ſpace following two Gentlemen of qualitie, which were hardly eſcaped thence, rehearſed vnto him how all the matter paſſed. Vpon this occaſion, without making any greater loſſe, or cauſing more trauaile to his men, he diſpatched that night *Caſtellus* lieutenant of his company, to carry the ſorrowfull newes to the King: and preſently ſent his Trumpeter, to the Earle of Vaudemont, to pray him to permit the bodies of *Rohan* and the Baron of Couches, to be buried within the Church at Nancy, as they were afterwards, and others in like ſorte.

The D. de Aumelle ſore hurt taken Priſoner.

Death of Vicecount Rohan.

The Marqueſſe *Albert* hauing now his hart puffed vp, and receaued farre into the Emperours good grace, tooke againe his waye on towardes Nancy; where hee had much ſpeech with the Earle *Vaudemont*, touching this defeate, for amidſt his diſcourſes and pleaſant tales, hee laughed at the great hardines of the D. D'aumalle. Afterwards

wards he returned to encamp at Pont Camouſon on the other ſide of the riuer, whether anon the Emperour ſent vnto him a number of horſe to ſtrengthen & aide him, vntill he might be ioyned to his campe, which was already aſſembled, and encamped about Metz. A little aboue the Pont aux Moras within the vynes, neere vnto an Abbey dedicated to S. *Martin*, was the quarter where the 13. of Nouember the Marqueſſe *Albert* went to entrench himſelfe, from whence hauing cauſed the D. of Aumalle to be dreſſed, he ſent him priſonner into Germanye to be kept in good ſuretie. The Kings army was arriued at Clermont in Argonne, a little village well ſituate in the country of Barrois, aboue which on the top of a mountaine, is a Caſtle naturally ſtrong in reſpect of the height, vnacceſſable in two or 3. places; the which being very commodious and conuenient for many neceſsities, *Chaſtillon* partelye by craft, and partly through feare which the captaine of the place had, ſeeing the French army to arriue, ſurpriſed and rendred it to the diſpoſition of the Conſtable his Vncle, for the K. afterwards men wrought a long time to fortifie and amend it better, and an other little towne named Varenne; and in the villages round about all couertly was the K. army lodged; the Conſtable, (the D. of Neuers remaining Lieutenant general in the armie) departed thence, to goe ſee the K. at Reims, verye ſorye and greeued at this euill aduenture.

The Caſtle of Clermont in Argonne ſurpriſed by Chaſtillon.

As theſe were eagerly in armes there in Lorraine, ſo the reſt would not be at reſt in Pickardie, for *Du Reux* the Emperours Lieutenant generall in the low Countryes, with a number of Flemings, Hannuyers, and Wallons, amounting to fortie Enſignes of foote, and aboue two or three thouſand horſe, hauing entred into the fielde with reſolution to enforce and ſurpriſe La fere in Picardie, which appertaineth to the D. of Vendoſme, and after finding that hardly hee could compaſſe it with his honour, the Admirall D'Anebaut being there within, well prouided of whatſoeuer was neceſſary for him; after hauing burned the town of Noyon, Nelle, Chaunis, Roye, and a magnificent houſe which the late King *Francis* cauſed to be builded for the pleaſure of hunting, called Foulembray, with betweene ſeuen & eight hundred villages, whereof the moſt parte were of the D. of Vendoſme his patrimony, and to ſpeak truly done infinite miſchiefes alwaies, by the means of the Queene of Hungary, went to beſiege Hedin: the towne was quickly taken, not being ſtrong enough to ſuſtayne the batterie nor the aſſault: ſhortlye after the Caſtle was beſieged on the Parke ſide, where a great towre which defended the towres on that ſide, being much broken and the defences beaten downe and ſhattered to peeces, they found means to vndermine and digge downe a great peece of the wall, and with Cannon ſhotte to breake downe the ſquares and ſpurres as well of that great towre, as of the wall: wherefore the whole ſuncke downe and was turned toplie turuie within the ditche, which filled it vp, and made a bridge very eaſie to goe to the aſſault, the rampire remaining meerly vncouered and worne, they had no baskets nor platformes to couer it, and albeit the rampire was as yet ſeuen or eight foote high, they within notwithſtanding ſeeing the wal ſo ſuddenly fallen down & the ditch filled, were ſo amaſed & aſtonied, as without tarrying any aſſault they yeelded themſelues to compoſition, their liues and goods ſaued, & the cõpoſition was made by *de Raſſe* and *Ianlis*, to which *D'ouoye* of the houſe of *Querqui* would neuer conſent. At this loſſe the K. much maruelled, conſidering that a litle before *De Raſſe* had certified him that he had no doubt at all of the holding out of that caſtle, but that which was found moſt ſtrange, and that gaue to the French occaſion diuerſly to ſpeak, was that *De Raſſe* had euer a good reputation

Du Reux with the imperiall army would faine ſurpriſe La Fere in Picardie.

Hedin beſieged by Du Reux.

Hedin yeelded to the Emperour by de Raſſe.

of a

Admirall de Anebaut dieth at La Fere.

of a valiant Knight: hereupon the King vnderſtanding of the death of the Admirall D'Anebaut, deceaſed at La Fere in Picardie, whether hee was retired to defend it from the Imperials, departed from Reims to approch as farre as Challons, whether the D. of Neuers, the Marſhall *S. Andre*, *de Chaſtillon*, and the principall chieftanes of his army came vnto him, to the end to aduiſe and conclude as ſoone as might be, of

The D. of Griſe aſſured within Metz.

ſome way how to recouer Hedin: therefore the D. of Guiſe was ſent vnto, to know of him how long time he could be able to defend Metz, and if he were in any neceſſitie, hee ſhould be the ſooner ſuccoured, who aſſuring himſelfe of the will of God, and of the faith & loyaltie of many valiant men which had followed and watched about his perſon, certified the King that there was no doubt at al of his towne, nor of thoſe which were within, in all whom he knew alike and ſemblable affection for his ſeruice, chuſing rather to leaue their liues then to go out of that place with diſhonor. Beſides that he had want of nothing whatſoeuer, whereby hee ſhould not be able to keepe it againſt all power of man, with the aide of him, without whom he watcheth in vaine, which will vndertake the keeping of any places: hee aduertiſed him in like

The diſtribution of the Imperiall army about Metz.

ſorte, how that the ſecond day of Nouember the D. of Alua with the greateſt parte of the Imperiall armye, hauing quitted the lodging at Belle Croix (*Brabanſon* being lett there with three Regiments of high Germanes, two of lowe, and three thouſand horſe) and paſſed the Riuer of Seille, was come to encampe neere vnto the Towne, diſtributing his army in the places about, as at S. Clement, and at S. Arnoul, where he was lodged with the ſpaniſh companies: One parte of the Germanes was lodged at Pont de Magny. *Dom Louis d'Auilla* with the Spaniſh cauallerie at La Maladiere, the Seneſhal of La Morauic with the Bohemian horſe at Blery, the ouerplus at Ollerye, S. Priech, at the grange aux Dames, at the grange aux Mercieres, and other places about: certifying him further how that they had begun their trenches neere vnto the Porte S. Thibaut, as if they purpoſed there to plante their principall battery. In the end he wrote the names and ſurnames of ſuch as had beſt perfourmed their dutye in ſallies out and skirmiſhes; not forgetting many other affaires as the time ſerued, in his anſwere. The King thus ſtanding aſſured on that parte, ordained the D. of Neuers

The D. of Ne- Lieutenant gene- rall ouer all the K. forces in Lo- raine.

his Lieutenant generall ouer all his forces, which remained in Lorraine: and for the good and agreeable ſeruices which *Gaſper de Coligny*, called *Chaſtillon*, had done him and daily did, he honored him with the office of Admirall of France, and at the very inſtant conſtituted him his Lieutenant, to bring back his army into Picardye, there to reſolue vpon and execute, whatſoeuer ſhould be moſt profitable and neceſſary for

Chaſtillon being made Admirall of France bring- eth all the K. ar- my from out of Picardy toward Hedin.

his ſeruice. Afterwardes all the chieftanes being aduertiſed and inſtructed in their charges, the armie was leuied by the Admirall, to cauſe it to take the right way towardes Hedin: the Marſhall *S. Andre* was retired to Verdun, the D. of Neuers with his company, and that of *La Roche du Maine*, retired to *S.* Michel, to the end to cut of al victuals fom the enimie and turn them away parting themſelues in ſundrye companies within the Vallyes: within S. Michel there were already the Enſignes of Captain *La Prade* and of *La Mothe Gondrin* on hundred light horſe of captaine *Pelous*, and one hundred Harquebuſiers of Captain *Lauenture* and *Bourdillon* with his company, who a little before was returned from that place, whether the D. Aumalle had writ-

The D. of Neu- ers his compa- nies make roads to cut off victu- alles from the e- nemies.

ten vnto him.

As ſoone as the D. of Neuers was arriued at S. Michel, there was a road made by his companie, with certaine light horſe and Harquebuſiers on horſeback, vnder the charge of *Mouy*, guidon of his company, a valiant and reſolute gentleman, as farre as

Malatour

Malatour, a litle towne ſtrong inough neere vnto Gorges, and in other great villages, which couered a valley, ſtrong inough, full of hollowe woodes and daungerous places, which they of the Countrie called La Veur, into which certaine ſouldiers were retyred, as well Spaniſh as Germanes, of the imperiall auantgard. Some were ſlaine, and the reſt carried awaie priſoners. This misfortune fel vpon thoſe as returned from the caſtle of Aſpremont, thinking to haue taken the Earle there in his bed, to whom it happened ſo well, as at that inſtant he was at Saint Michael neere vnto the Duke of Neuers. For in ſtead of thinking to take, they were taken, & carried awaie with ſome bootie. Such roads there and abouts were continued by the Duke of Neuers for the ſpace of three weekes, himſelfe beeing there ſometimes in perſon, which ſo ſore annoied and troubled his enimies, as they were inforced to forget the waie of that quarter. Yea, by reaſon of theſe continuall alarums, the imperiall armie was oftentimes conſtrayned to remaine halfe a daie in battell, with great trauell, coldes, and other neceſsities. But if they endured much, the French men were not cleane exempted, becauſe that oftenеſt times they were faine to mount on horſebacke at midnight, indu-ring ſo ſharpe froſts and colde, as ſome of them haue euer ſince had diuerſe of theyr members benummed, and other dead, loſt by the paine and inſupportable torments which they indured, hauing continually the ſnowe vp to their horſe bellies: & in ſuch equipage paſſed they the daie and night without food, after in the daie time, & when they thought to repoſe themſelues, and take a litle breath in theyr lodging, they were faine to keepe the watch for feare of ſurpriſall: ſo as, as well to keepe themſelues, as to annoie and plague the imperials, they endured theyr parte of the diſcommoditie of the time, but much leſſe as they wel witneſſed, which had abandoned thē: the Italians aboue all, who dayly went threedmeale from the Emperours campe, to beſeech the Duke of Neuers to receiue them into the Kings ſeruice, who moued with pittie, ſeeing ſome dead, and halfe paſsing, other hunger ſtarued without monie, vſed all liberalitie poſsible towardes them, and cauſed monie to bee giuen them out of his owne coffers attending the kings paie. Afterwardes he ſent them to Captaine *Andre de May More*, a man of approued hardineſſe, to dreſſe of them companies as well of foote as light cauallerie. By them & other ſpials the French were aduertiſed of the moſt great diligence and wonderful preparatiues which the Duke of Alua had made to addreſſe his batterie, the great plaines, the trenches, ſo ample, large, and deepe, as hath bin ſeene of long time, the great number of artillerie and munitions, the almoſt innumerable quantitie of baskets, which hee cauſed continually without anie reſt to bee made and filled, making no account of the life of thoſe miſerable vaſcadors, no more than of bruite beaſts expoſed to the mercie of the artillerie and counterbatterie of the towne. They reported lykewiſe the great harmes and annoiances that they within did inceſſantly vnto them, theyr reſolute ſallies, ſo furious & in ſuch ſort, as ſome thought them rather ghoſts and deuilliſh ſpirites than mortall creatures. And others reporting how the conduct of the moſt part of theyr ſallies was happily executed, attributed all to a raſhneſſe and bolde hardineſſe, more than to wiſedome or anie diſcreete foreſight of the inconueniences lyke to happen, in ſuch ſorte; as one Sergeant of a band, accompanyed with fiue or ſixe ſouldiers onely, with his halbard chaſed awaie, and conſtrained to abandon the trenches more than three hundred men. Some other in like ſort durſt goe and naile theyr artillerie, and kill their canoniers vpon theyr peeces. The which the enemies notwithſtanding woulde not repute as a fact worthie either of them, nor of a valyant and magnanimious heart. Beſides that, twice or thrice a daie the cauallerie

The Italians of the Emperours campe repaired to the Duke of Neuers to be intertained in the kings ſeruice.

lerie iſſued forth, putting the imperials often inough in ſuch diſorder, as ſome of the moſt hardieſt Gentlemen, which woulde doo anie act worthie of memorie, or for the remembrance or loue of their miſtreſſes, would goe breake theyr lances, and ſtrike with theyr ſwoords euen within the enemies tents, ſo farre as to cut their ropes aſunder, executing ſtrange things, and not heard of in our memorie. Now if the French by ſuch feates were deſirous to ſhew themſelues loyall ſubiectes to their king, and curious of honour, the Duke of Alua repoſed not leſſe of his part, who ſhewed himſelfe ſo deſirous and inflamed to render into the obedience of his maiſter the Emperour, that puiſant Citie, to reioyce him with the taking of ſo many princes, great Lordes, and valyant men as were there within, that not ſparing anie labor, nor the liues of his, he planted his batterie readie the twentith of Nouember, beginning to ſhoote at the defences, to wit, at that of the portall of the port Champenois, and of a bulwarke which is within a great tower, the which is towardes the riuer called La Tour D'Enſen, and ſurnamed La Tour de Lanques, & at a little Church being within the town, where there was a platform, in ſumme, they razed and ruined as much as they could, whatſoeuer might ſerue as they iudged to the defence of the towne. The ſix & twentith he began to cannon it with ſuch an impetuoſitie, as in the memory of anie liuing man was neuer heard the like, hauing in front fortie great peeces, which carrying bullets of an extraordinarie waight, ſhot daie and night without anie intermiſsion, other than to refreſh themſelues. In the mean time the beſieged ſlept not, but with the princes and great Lordes, and generally euen to the verie leaſt, they carryed earth & panniers to rampire, in ſuch diligence and carefulneſſe, as at any place where they imagined the breach ſhould be made, in leſſe than twice foure and twentie houres they made vp the rampire the height of a perapect, leauing betweene the old wall and the rampire conuenient flankers, & a trench farced with diuerſe drogs, to feaſt the moſt hotly diſpoſed, if they meant to goe to the aſſalt. Attending which, I will looke back againe into the exploits of the French armie.

As ſoone as *de Reux* with the Flanders armie, which as yet remained about Hedin, perceiued the French to approach, without anie countenaunce at all made to be willing to fight for maintenance of them which were redie to be beſieged within, he retyred, leauing his ſonne in the caſtle, to whome hee vowed and ſwore great puniſhment if hee yeelded the place with diſhonour and reproch. With the ſame charge he left with him his companion, a Henault Gentleman named *Harenuille*. So the breach beeing made farre ſtronger by them than before, and ſtanding prouided and ſtrengthened with whatſoeuer they could imagine to bee neceſſarie for them, they ſowed a bruite that both the one and the other woulde rather die there within, than yeelde themſelues ſo good cheap as they that firſt went out thence. Shortly after the French armie beeing arriued, the Duke of Vendoſme, Lieutenant for the King in Picardie, cauſed his approaches to bee made, and one of his batteryes to bee planted in the verie ſame place whete the Bourgonians had addreſſed theirs, and the other vppon the ſlope of a little hill of the ſide of Therouanne. So Hedin began to bee cannoned the ſeuenteenth of December moſt furiouſly, and there were diſcharged foure thouſand three ſcore, and ſixe ſhot of Cannon, without making anie breach or ouerture, that had not yet a rampire behinde eighteene or twentie foote high. Yet faintneſſe of heart and feare of death ceazed the beſieged, who yeelded themſelues by compoſition, theyr liues and goods ſaued, theyr Enſignes diſplayed, with two meane peeces of artillerie at theyr tayle, wythout taking awaie ought, or tranſporting of anie thing els of

The caſtle of Hedin yelded vp by de Reux his ſon to the D. of Vendoſme for the king.

of that which they had found within: ſo the caſtle of Hedin was yelded and rendered vnto the Kings obedience, by the conduct of the Duke of Vendoſme, the eighteenth of December. And albeit that the chiefe was acquited of his dutie in keeping it, yet fearing his fathers cholar, he remained a long time not daring to preſent himſelf before him. Sodainly after the Duke of Vendoſme beeing aduertiſed that the enemies meant to paſſe ouer the riuer, to giue him battel at the houre that he parled with them of Hedin, by the Kings aduiſe hee purpoſed to eaſe them of that paine, and him ſelfe went to ſeeke them out with his forces, with intention to fight with them if they would abide. But not finding themſelues ſtrong inough, they retired towardes the ſtrong townes, and further into the heart of the Countrie, quitting vnto him the paſſages to execute his good pleaſure, and a means to reuenge himſelfe of thoſe cruelties which they had committed vpon his lands.

At ſuch time as theſe affayres thus paſſed there, the Duke of Neuers hauing cauſed on the ſide of Saint Michael many and ſundry roads to be made, to the great damage of the enemies of the crowne of Fraunce, departed thence by an intelligence which he had, how that on the ſide of *Eſpinaux*, by the Countie of Vaudemont, ordinarilye came downe great quantitie of victuals & prouiſions to the Emperors campe. Therfore with thoſe few men of warre which he was able to recouer, beeing two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſe, and as many harquebuziers on horſeback, he retired towards Vaucouleurs, a little French village, renouned inough vpon the riuer of Meuſe, within fiue leagues of Thoul, included within many of the lands of Lorain, from whence within two daies after he departed to go towardes Thoul, thether cauſing his forces to approach, which he made to be lodged in a verie faire and great village, named Blanieau, a temporall lordſhip & roialtie of the Chapitre of S. Stephens of Thoul, and in other little ones adioyning. Shortly after their comming was a role made of the men at arms, and archers, the moſt likely and beſt mounted, to the number of ſixe ſcore, couducted by *Mouy*, to breake and cut vp the head of a maruellous great pond in the countie of Vaudemont, thereby to drowne and deſtroy a number of villages which were vnderneath it, whether many victuals had retired themſelues, and where the enemies forages found yet great ſtore of corne and forage: which notwithſtanding was alreadie found broken and cut vp, to the great hinderaunce of the Countie. The French men hauing made the hole greater, and returning homewards, met with a great troup of waggons & chariots, laden with all ſortes of victualers and munitions, addreſſed to the imperiall campe. Whereof hauing made the greateſt ſpoile that they were able, with a great deale of wines of Arbois, and marred the ouerplus, and hauing ſlaine ſome of the guides and waggoners, led away as many horſes as they were able, and retired with great daunger, notwithſtanding that they were conſtrained to paſſe at full daie through ſundrie villages where ſome of the enemyes were lodged, as wel of foot as horſe. The which notwithſtanding fell out without the loſſe of anie one, in reſpect they were not knowen, apparelled like marchants, without anie white croſſes or ſcarfes ſeene, and their harneſſe couered with their cloakes, beeing likewiſe thought to be auantcouriers, to drawe them to an ambuſcade, or fearing leaſt the greater troupes of the enemies were couered and laie hid. Wherefore the D. of Neuers verie much contented herewith, anon after retired to Vaucouleurs.

The D. of Neuers at Vaucouleurs to ſtop ſuch victuals as came from the French countie to the Emperors campe, & his courſes to anoy the imperials.

Now to looke backe againe to what the Emperour did before Metz, hee trauelled there with ſmall aduantage, all the thunder and ſtrange impetuoſitie of his artillerie not able to make one hole or paſſage fit to giue the aſſault, which the Marques *Albert*

A guile to paſſe amidſt ones enemies without danger.

The Emperours battery at Metz.

demaunded of him; thinking thereby further to aduaunce himſelfe into his good fauour, for that hauing well neere ſhaken all the great tower D'enfer, all the great parte of wall betweene the tower and the porte Champenois, with the bulwarke which couered it, he could not raiſe the vaumure, otherwiſe termed fanſe-braie, which held vp the quarters of the wall that fell, and were ſtayed the one vpon the other, betweene this vaumure and the foote of the wall, no wayes filling of the ditch, which remayned as neate, large, and deepe as before: nay, they ſerued them within for a ſtronger rampire. Wherefore it was thought good the batterie ſhoulde bee chaunged to another place a little aboue, and to vndermine that parte, to turne topſie turuie into the ditch that ſame vaumure and fanſe-braie: whereof the Duke of Guiſe beeing aduertiſed, hee cauſed countermines to bee made within in ſundrie places, in which hee might haue anie knowledge, and prouide for theyr paſſages, in ſuch ſorte, as they had not long digged and hollowed theyr mines, but the ſentinels and ſcoutes of the beſieged might eaſily heare and perceiue them, the which began to diſcourage them, to daunt and quayle greatly in theyr enterpriſe. Ioyne that then, as well by reaſon of the maruellous coles, as thorough the neceſsities and defaultes of ſundrie thinges for the men of warre, the verie Germanes beganne euen to fayle of courage, who cauſed to bee ſignifyed vnto the Emperour, that it woulde pleaſe his maieſtie to command a reaſonable breach to bee made, to enter and take the towne, chooſing rather to die honourablie at an aſſault, than miſerably to fall by colde and extreame famine. It was then that the Emperour iudging of the impoſsibilitie of the taking thereof, was pricked with an acknowledgement of his fault, and wyth a great griefe to haue there ſetled ſo euyll a beginning, for ſeeing ſo ſhamefull an end to ſo hotte deſſeines, yet to make them lifte vp theyr heartes, and incourage them to his power, hee promiſed them that if by the ende of the yeere hee dyd not make a reaſonable breach, hee woulde giue them leaue to departe, which made them to temporize, and take patience. Whereupon to make proofe of this good affection, hee commaunded againe the Duke of Alua wyth all diligence to cauſe theſe mines alreadie begunne to bee continued and purſued, the which he did with ſo great and feruent a deſire, that hee abandoned the worke neyther night nor daie. But the time was ſo contrarye vnto him, as all remayned vnperfect, wherefore if then in the enemies campe euerie man fayled of force and courage, the French increaſed from houre to houre, making more and more continuall ſallies and charges vpon them, wherewith they dayly diminiſhed their armie, for ſome ſtole awaie, and retired by whole troupes into theyr Countries, others in great number were found ſtiffe, and frozen within the trenches, lodgings, tents, and quarters, and many pale, diſeaſed in their liuers, and dead for hunger, partly for that they were ſo euill paide, the Emperours treaſure beeing verie much conſumed. Who ſeeing the tearme promiſed to the Germanes to draw neere, hauing before his eyes a fearefull kinde of ſhame to returne, without hauing done anie honourable action, himſelfe beeing there in perſon, cauſed ſome to practiſe with them, to ſound them whether they wold be content to go with him to beſiege Thoul, an imperiall towne, whereof men could not be able to finiſh the fortification, by reaſon of the plague which had taken awaie ſo great a number of the inhabitants. To which they made anſwere, that they had not deliberated vppon it, and they were commanded by the Princes & electors, not to paſſe anie further vntill Metz were firſt taken or yelded vp. Therefore if it woulde pleaſe his maieſtie to make anie breach bee opened as hee promiſed, they were all readie either to die there, or enter in:

Mines begun to be made by the imperials before Metz. to make a breach.

from

from this time about the eighteenth of December hee began to cauſe his beſt and greateſt peeces of artillerie to retire. A lyttle after hauing aſſembled together all his Councell, to conclude of an honourable retreate, it was commaunded to the Earle of Aiguemont, Colonell, and chiefe of two Regimentes of Cauallerie lodged at Pont Camouſon, to go downe with his forces all alongeſt the riuer as farre as Thoul, & as much lower as was poſsible for him, to diſcouer the Countrie, and know what number of men of warre might be there all along with the Duke of Neuers, doubting leaſt at his retreate ſome greater anoiances might be done him. Wherupon this Earle departed with his Cauallerie from Pont Camouſon, & paſsing along the Mozelle as far as Thoul, cauſed it to bee ſummoned in paſsing thorough the ſuburbes, addreſsing his Trumpetter to *D'eſclauolles*, who was the gouernour. Who hauing vnderſtoode the Chiamade, made a ſigne to him with his hand that hee ſhould retyre, albeit that hee had iuſt occaſion to doubt vpon this ſummons, ſeeing the want of victualles, the towne pregnable, and to bee battered on euerie ſide, euill prouided of artillerie and munitions, whereof hee aduertiſed the Duke of Neuers, who was at Vaucouleurs. But the Gentleman of his houſe who carryed the newes, named *Torte eſper*, was taken by the waie by ſome of that Cauallerie, ſcattered to finde ſome wandering bootie as it befell vnto them, for hauing taken from him an hundred crownes which he had vnder his ſaddle, they ſtript him no further: but hee ſhewed himſelfe ſo accord, as finding himſelfe halfe at libertie, hee ſaued himſelfe acroſſe the woode, thorough the darkneſſe of the night, and ſo perfourmed his meſſage. And as ſoone as the Duke of Neuers receiued this aduertiſement, hee ſent all night long to fetch his men of warre at the inſtant to come vnto him, which was lodged one or two leagues of. And albeit that it was at a time of reſt, and that the moſt parte were alreadie aſleepe, his commaundement notwithſtanding was, that euerie man ſhoulde bring his armour on his backe, and readily mount on horſebacke. So they paſſed all the nighe wyth keeping a good watch, as it was reaſon, becauſe that this Earle approached as neere them as they coulde, and went vppon the brinke of the riuer into a village called Dagny vppon Meuſe, thinking to ſurpriſe them. But ſeeing the fire of all ſides, hearing the noyſe and neighing of horſes, and by other tokens knowing howe they had warning and attended him, hee retyred backe his wayes, where returning vp the riuer of Mozell, hee paſſed neere vnto a lyttle towne named Gondreuille, ſeated vppon the banke of that riuer, of the ſide of Nancie. On the other parte a lyttle before was arriued the Baron of Guerres, which returned freſhly from a roade, who not aduertiſed of his enemyes beeing ſo neere him, wanted verie lyttle of paſsing the riuer of Bac, which if hee had done, as much had happened vnto him as did to ſome others that were of his companie, who for hauing croſſed the riuer already on the enemyes ſide, were ſurpiſed, ſome hurt, others taken priſoners, and fewe or none killed or ſlayne, the Baron ſaued himſelfe wythin the lyttle towne, and was not rigorouſly purſued, as well for the darkeneſſe of the night, as the feare which they had leaſt they ſhoulde bee charged vpon. That verie ſame night was S. *Simon*, a Gentleman of the houſe of the Duke of Neuers ſent wyth fyue and twentye horſe as farre as Thoul, to vnderſtande of *Eſclauolles* the ſucceſſe of the enterpriſe abouesayd. Vpon whoſe report *Fouronne*, a Gentleman of his houſe, was forthwith diſpatched and ſent by the Duke of Neuers to aduertiſe the King of all the proceedinges. Who in ſhort aunſwere ſent vnto him, and prayed him to ſearch out by all meanes poſsible that hee coulde, howe that towne of Thoul myght

bee preſerued, and holde out onely for fifteene dayes, within which time hee woulde not fayle himſelfe to come to ſuccour it wyth all his power. The Duke vppon this aunſwere, woulde not put anie other in truſt with this charge, but reſeruing it vnto himſelfe, the two and twentith of December followed by *Bordillon*, *De Bigny* maſter of the Q. houſeholde, *d'Eſchenets* and *de Giry* Enſigne of his companie, he went and lodged within the towne thus vnprouided. As ſoone as the Duke was there arriued, hee made the round vpon the walls about the towne, and viſited a beginning of rampires and platformes, which *D'Eſcauolles* had begun to frame wythin, the which was found to bee excellently well inuented by the ingeners and maſters of fortifications, whome hee cauſed to come thether, to conſider of, and addreſſe the diſpoſing and finiſhing of this fortification, enterpriſed and imprinted ſo deepely in his affection, that there remayned not one man about his perſon, to whome hee gaue not ſome commiſsion, and hee himſelfe the moſt part of the time ſtirred not, interrupting the ordinarie houres of his meales, ſo greatly was he affectionate to that worke, that there reſted verie ſmall time that hee ſawe not ſome platforme made vp in defence, which carryed his name, *De Bordillon* was as buſie about another, and they ſeemed to bee almoſt iealous of the pertection of theyr workes. Beſides, hee made ſearch to be made throughout all the houſes, garners, and ſellers, and to take an oath of all thoſe which inhabited there, to knowe what corne, wines, haie, fourage, and of euerie kinde of victuals might bee wythin the Towne, to the ende that order might bee taken therein. But there was a ſmall deale founde, hauing beene carryed awaye before by the Burgeſſes and thoſe which were retyred to other places for feare of the plague, and that which remayned wythin the towne was conſumed and ſpoiled without reaſon, by the ſouldyers, and ſuch as remayned there during this peryll. Then beeing informed how that into two little townes, Thoul, and Gondeuille, greate quantitie was carryed as well out of the plaine Countrie, as little townes and French lands, for feare of the enemyes, hee ſent to ſummon them, and gaue commandement that it ſhoulde bee brought and ſtored vp wythin Thoul. To Gondeuille was ſent *Eſchenets*, followed a farre off by an Enſigne of footemen, wyth a certayn number of horſe. The Prouoſt and the inhabitants, after ſome difficulties, ſawe themſelues ſo ſodaynly ſurpriſed, that in the ende they aduiſed themſelues to obey. They of Thoul grew ſtubborne, forgetting themſelues in the regarde of *Mouie*, who was ſent vnto them with fiftie horſe of the Duke of Neuers his companie, and an Enſigne of fanterie, to ſummon them to obey the Kings Lieutenant. Notwithſtanding after his honeſt perſwaſions, ſeeing the Prouoſt conteſtate, and at his diſſembled preſumption the inhabitants rebellious, hee cauſed the towne preſently to bee ſcaled, and taken as ſhee was by aſſault, they ſomewhat felt the payment of theyr refuſall. *Mouie* notwithſtanding cauſed the furie of the French ſouldyers to ceaſe, alreadie heated at the ſlaughter. The Enſigne of Fanterie remained and lodged there, vntill that all the victuals which were within were carryed to Thoul, wythout taking or carrying awaie anie thing, thereby to maintayne them alwayes in theyr Neutralitie: ſo all victualls and munition were carryed to Thoul from all partes, by the commandement of the generall, with ſo good order, as euerie man liued ſomewhat better, and wyth more diſcretion than before. And after hauing conſidered howe in caſe the ſiege ſhoulde bee, the towne woulde bee verie ill prouided of footmen, hee cauſed foure other companies to enter in, which made vp the number of eighteene hundred fantaſsins, & ſome light horſe, ouer and aboue the ordinarie garriſon.

The

The Duke of Neuers beeing heereupon aduertiſed, how the Emperour euen long- ed to retyre himſelfe, and how his armie euerie daie broke and diminiſhed, ſeldome ſuffered anie daie to paſſe wythout ſending ſome people ouer the Countrie to haſten theyr going: ſo as oftentimes in ſtead of aduauncing forwarde, they cauſed them to recoyle backe inough wyth a number of priſoners which they tooke. Notwythſtanding they founde them in ſo great pouertie, as they were faine to let them paſſe wythout anie harme dooing. In this eſtate remayned they vntyll the laſt daie of the moneth of December, that the Emperour vnderſtanding of the taking of the caſtle of Hedin, ſeeing himſelfe to fall and to diminiſh of euerie thinge, fearing beſides the returne of the Kings armie, and to fall into greater loſſe, was one of the firſt which retyred on new yeeres daie, leauing all the charge to the Duke of Alua, for the departing of his armie, and ordering of the retreate. As ſoone as his departure was knowen throughout the campe, the wayes and villages rounde about were ſodaynly full of ſouldyers, which retyred themſelues, the one into theyr quarter, the other whether they were able, in ſo great miſerie, as verie beaſts, were they neuer ſo cruell, woulde haue taken pittie of thoſe miſerable ſouldiers, falling and ſtaggering along the high waies in extreme neceſsitie, and moſt commonly dying neere the hedges, and at the rootes of buſhes, to become a praie to dogges and birdes. And which is yet more to bee lamented by men of courage, to bee inforced to die ſo poorelye, without hauing made anie great proofe at all of theyr valor. The which ought greatly to moue the heartes of ſuch men, as God hath rendered ſo happie in this worlde, that they neuer felt nor aſſayed the hardneſſe of warre. And when they ſpeake with a full belly and the cuppe in theyr hande, it ſeemeth vnto them a wedding, to liue in ſuch an eſtate as conſiſteth not in thouſand and thouſand of perills, more than in the daunger both of ſoule and bodie, except it bee wiſely & iuſtly executed. Not to looſe anie time vppon the intelligence which the Duke of Neuers had receiued, hee ſent *Mouie*, and the Captaine *Andre de Maye More*, wyth about fiue hundred horſe, as well of men at armes, as harguebuziers on horſebacke, to put on theyr ſpurres agaynſt the inhabitants of the Countie, retyring themſelues into theyr quarters, where there wanted verie lyttle, that the ſonne of *Granuelle*, the Baron of Carlaon, and others, had not beene there ſtaied, but doubting themſelues of that comming, by ſlacke and long treates, they ſaued themſelues. Hauing failed of this their firſt enterpriſe, they at one treat went at the point of day to lie in ambuſcade neere Ramberuilliers, within which was a Commiſſarie of victualles, which came from the Franche-comte to the Emperour, and the maſter of the monie of Beſanſon, with two other marchauntes which brought great quantitie of all kinde of victualles and prouiſions. The commiſſaries and marchants were before horſed and guided by a Lorrainer, who ſerued for a ſpie, by whome the Duke of Neuers was certainly aduertiſed what hee was to put in execution for theyr ſurpriſall. Wherefore as they were in ambuſcade neere inough to the towne, *Andre de Maye* ſent certayne Italian ſouldyers, which were to aduertiſe the ambuſcade, by a ſigne if they entered, and gaine the port vpon the gardes, ſo as faining to come from the imperiall campe, and to indure great colde and hunger, they lamented ſo much, as they were let to goe ſeeke ſome victuals. Anon after ſome other came thether, who did as the firſt, & in ſuch wiſe as ſeeming ſtrong inough to repulſe the gards from the ports, who were but Lorain peſãts armed with old bils, rotten ſtaues, and ruſtie brigandines, *Andre* ſpeaking excellent good Spaniſh, was no ſooner ariued, but the ſoldiers who were aduertiſed of the ſigne made them, charged

The Emperour vpon the point to retire from Metz.

vppon the porters halfe afleepe, and the reſt dronke, of whome ſome were maſſacred, other conſtrained to abandon the gates, which were a little after opened to all the reſt of the ambuſcade, who beeing aduertiſed thereof, couragiouſly entered in. I leaue you to thinke what good husbandrie there was made. The Comiſsarie was founde there hidde in the bedſtrawe, and wyth theſe marchants was carryed priſoner to Thoul, the victuals and prouiſions diſpearſed, and ſpoyled as much as they coulde. They did as much at Eſpinau, a caſtle ſcituate vpon Mozelle and Rimiremont, where great violence was offered to the Abbeſſe and Ladies, eſpecially by the Italians which were newly come from the Emperous campe to the Kings ſeruice. The Duke of Neuers had ſent *Chaſtellus* Lieutenant of Bordillons companie, towardes Metz with like number of Cauallerie, to learne out and make a certaine report of the truth of this retrait. Who paſsing by the Pont Camouſon, founde that the Count of Aiguemont with his regiment of Cauallerie was departed thence: where was onely remayning a great number of miſerable ſicke creatures. From whence he paſſed as farre as Metz, where hee found that the Dukes of Alua and Brabanſon, with the greateſt part of the imperiall armie were diſlodged in ſtraunge diſorder, departing in the night with two fires onely for ſignall, the moſt ſecretly that they could, without anie noiſe, trumpets, fifes, and drums ſleeping, the tents leſte behind, and great quantitie of all ſorts of harneſſe and weapons, pipes full of cannon pouder, with an infinite deale of moueables and ſtuffe, and vnder the ground a great part of theyr artillerie * remaining for hoſtages, an incredible multitude of ſicke perſons, towards whom the Duke of Guiſe, and the reſt of the chiefe, euen to the ſimpleſt French ſouldiers, vſed moſt great charitie, furniſhing them with all neceſſaries, and ſuch releefe as poore ſick ſtrangers had need of. Vpon the tayle charged the Vidaſme of Charſtres, ſo as hauing defeated a companie of light horſe, and cauſed a great deale of theyr pouder which hee had taken awaie in theyr fight to be burned, hee returned wyth more priſoners than he was willing, wythout the loſſe of anie one of his owne. The Marques *Albert* remayned the laſt to ſerue for helpe and arreregard, not without great paine and hazard, thorough the continuall alarums which daie and night hee receyued. Beſides that, he prayed the Duke of Neuers to haſten him to go, ſo as the third of Ianuarie he departed from Thoul with his men at armes, and cauallerie, and three Enſignes of fanterie, accompanied with *Bordillon* and ſundrie other Gentlemen and Captaines. After he went to dine at Pont Camouſon, where the reſt of that daie he tarryed to heare newes of the Marſhall of Saint Andre, who was gone the lower waie: hauing in lyke ſort ſent *Mouie* to the Duke of Guiſe, praying him to aduertiſe him of the reſolution of that affayre, whoſe aunſwere hee attended. But *Chaſtellus* being returned, and by him aſſured of the whole, eſpecially how the Marques ſought all meanes to ſaue himſelfe and retire, hee went forwards towardes Metz with two hundred horſe. The reſt of that daie the Princes tooke great pleaſure to ſee the braue ſallies and skirmiſhes of theyr ſouldiers. Vpon the Marques & his Germanes whom they went to ſeeke out in their owne forte, and giue them thruſts of pikes, and harquebuze ſhot euen within theyr tents, to prouoke them to come out into the plaine to fight, which they woulde not doo but by conſtraint, keeping ſtill cloſe together, and vnited, wythout breaking or ſeuering themſelues. In this eſtate and paine were they conſtrained to tarrie from morning vntill night, not once daring to inlarge themſelues ſo much as to ſeeke out victuals. For as ſoone as they were found in anie ſmall number, by and by, by the Marangetz and Fouillardz, villaines of the Countrie, they had theyr throates cut, and

were

Retreat of the imperiall armie before Metz.

* There were aboue ſeuen thouſand men put into Abbies by the D. of Guiſe and releeued. as oftē hath ben reported vnto me the Tranſlator, by the moſt renowmed Lord C. H. L. high Admirall of England. who himſelfe ſaw all, remained in the towne all the ſiege. and ſerued the daie that the Duke of Aumall gaue battell to the Marques, narowly eſcaping, being of the ſuit of the Vidaſme of Chartres. in al thoſe warres.

Sallies & skirmiſhes between the ſoldiers with in Metz. & Marques Alberts campe.

were defeated. Wherewith being the more annoyed, they ought rather to come out as the French deſired, conſidering that they coulde not inforce them but with greate loſſe. Therefore to the end they might the more vexe them, the Duke cauſed foure meane Culuerines to bee placed in a lyttle Ilande aboue Pont au Mores, which ſhot euen within them. In ſumme, they dyd ſo ſore annoye them, as two dayes after the Marques hauing loſt the better parte of his men, departed thence in a farre leſſe number than hee came with, taking his waie towards Treuues. Hee was a little followed after, and they made a good market wyth his people, being combatted inough wyth colde, famine, and other miſeries. But the French moued with pittie made no account thereof: but in ſtead of tormenting them, they opened vnto them the paſſage, and ſuffered the members to go ſcotfree, wiſhing onely that they might haue gotten the head to haue paid for all.

Thankeſgiuinge to God by the French for the ſiege raiſed at Metz.

The Duke of Guiſe aduertiſed the King by *Randan* of all the ſucceſſe of his ſiege, who after hauing yeelded thankes vnto God for ſo good an iſſue, commaunded that they ſhould make publyke and general proceſsions throughout his Realme, to praiſe and thanke God of ſo great and eſpeciall a grace for all France. The Duke of Guiſe dyd the lyke at Metz wyth a generall proceſsion, where he himſelfe was preſent with all humilitie and deuotion, as alſo dyd the reſt of the Princes and Lordes which accompanyed him, to wit, the Princes of D'anguien, de Conde, Montpenſier, la Roche Suryon, de Nemours, *Horace Farneze*, *Pierre Stroſsie*, *le Vidaſme de Chartres*, *Montmorencie*, *D'anuille*, *de Gonor*, gouernour of Metz, *De la Broſſe*, Lieutenant of the Duke of Lorraines companie, and *De la Rochefoucaut*, the Vizecount of Turaine, and *De Martiques*, *D'elangues*, *Entragues*, *De Biron*, *and Saint Remy*, and generally all the Captaines, Gentlemen, and ſouldyers which remayned after the ſiege. Afterwardes hauing ordered the garriſon which ſhould remaine there within, and diſpoſed of all the reſt of the affaires, the muſters being taken as wel of the men at armes as the fanterie, he gaue leaue to all to go repoſe and refreſh themſelues in their owne houſes, and he himſelfe went to the Court, leauing *De Gonnor* to command in his place.

During the time that the Emperour patiently carryed the misfortune happened vnto him, vnder a hope of a more fauourable to come, and as hee retired to the Low Countries, hee excuſed himſelfe towardes the Princes and Cities of the Empire of ſo pittifull ſucceſſe, laying it vpon the ſlacknes of theyr forces and meanes. For which cauſe, ſayde hee, hee was inforced to ſet vpon that place in the dead of winter: The King of France triumphed ouer his miſeries, and increaſing them by his Letters and Embaſſages to all Chriſtian Princes, the more to diminiſh the authoritie and credite of his enemie, whoſe power hee ſayde was altogether broken by the iſſue of ſo miſerable a ſiege, paſſed the moſt parte of the times for reuenge of ſo great raines and ſickenes, as had beene indured by the continuance of the warres paſsed, in eaſe and reioycings which hee tooke in feaſtings, tiltings, turney, and other royall pleaſures, among which, the marriage made at Paris wyth rare magnificence, betweene *Horace Farneze* Duke of Caſtres, and the Ladie *Diana* his natural daughter, was moſt famous. But the Emperour prompt and actiue in his actions, pricked beſides with an extreame deſire of reuenge, which by all meanes in all places hee practiſed, ſoone troubled this good cheere, for in the beginning of the ſpring, with ſuch a number as hee was able to aſſemble, and firſt vnder the conduct of *du Reux* hee ſent to beſiege Terroanne. But preuented by death, that charge was giuen to *Binecourt*, a knight eſteemed one of the moſt ſweet & gracious among them. That Citie, albeit that it was little of circuit, had a renowne great inough throughout all Europe, of which the Romanes make honorable

mention

mention in their writings. It was ſcituated vpon the little riuer of Liz, in the confines of Gaul Belgique, a nation of a long time eſteemed warlyke by the hiſtoriographers, called by the Latins *Morini*, now they call it the Countie of Ponthieu ſomwhat neer the great Ocean ſea, in ſituation ſomwhat hanging, inuironed with fens & mariſhes, woodes, and great forreſts. Beſides, curiouſly fortified by the Kinges of Fraunce, to whoſe handes it hath a long time ſince beene fallen, to ſerue them as a bulwarke and frontire as well againſt the Engliſh, as Flemings and Hanuiers, among which it is incloſed, hauing done a thouſand ſpoyles, and an hundred ſundrie enterpriſes, which they woulde attempt vpon Picardie. Wherefore it was once cleane rayſed and made euen to the earth by the Engliſhmen, and there was ſalt ſowen in ſigne of eternall ruine. But yet is it much more odious to the Flemings, Burgonians, and Hanuiers, who for this occaſion importunately induced the Emperour to this enterpriſe. Now forſomuch as it was eſteemed impregnable, & that as well by intelligence, as other conſiderations not thought, that the Emperour woulde conuert his forces to that place, but rather into Champagne, towardes Mezieres and Yuoy, they had not ſo carefully furniſhed it with victuals & ſure munition, as was requiſite for ſo long a ſiege. Where of the neighbours being aduertiſed, the enemyes vſed ſo greate diligence, that it was ſodainly beſieged, *De Loſſes* beeing alone, within the principall and chiefe, with his light horſe and ſome people of the Country, in no great number, nor of anie great defence. Ioyn that thorough the couetouſnes and neglygence of former gouernours, a thing naturall to vs French men, this key remained bare and vnfurniſhed of all prouiſions: therefore it was neceſſarie to make a vertue of neceſsitie, & where prudence could not take place, there it was neceſſarie that force ſhould ſecond it. In ſuch ſorte, aſeuen in the beard of the enemy, and in ſpight of them, being as men iudged for the moſt parte not vſed to the arte of warres, they ſtrengthned it with men, victuals, and whatſoeuer they were able. *D'eſſe*, otherwiſe called *Panuilliers*, knight of the order, moſt renoumed for his vertue and proweſſe, beeing ſent thether Lieutenant for the King, and with him *Frances* of *Montmorencie*, eldeſt ſonne to the Conſtable, with the moſt part of theyr companies, followed wyth a great number of other Lordes, Gentlemen and ſouldyers, who entered therein to ſeeke for honour: and the reſt following theyr Captaines to defend and keepe the place. But as ſuch a victualling thereof deſpighted the Emperor, and making him obſtinate, reiterated his deſpight, to cauſe it to bee battered and aſſaulted, the King contrarywiſe aſſuring himſelfe of an impoſſibilitie to force it, ſlacked it in ſuch ſort, as without anie other ſuccours or preparatiues, hee lefte his enemie to doo whatſoeuer hee liſted. For albeit that they wythin, and the Duke of Vendoſme wyth the men at armes of the garriſons about, impeached and gaue alarums vnto them as much as was poſsible, yet theyr number beeing much greater and ſtronger than the French, they could not ſo hinder them, but that they made their approaches, where they themſelues thought beſt euen to plant their batterie where they pleaſed, and knew might moſt annoy the towne, putting the verie mouth of theyr artillerie neereſt, and vpon the brinke of the ditch betweene the caſtle and the towre Du Chapitre, vppon a little hill where the gallowes ſtoode hard by. Hauing brought from many townes and caſtles of Flanders and Artois all ſortes of Artillerie, with innumerable munitions of pouder and bullets. So glad was that nation to ſee it inuironed, that not onely women and litle children ranne thether, but for ioy ſung ſongs, and vulgar rimes, carrying and bringing into the campe all ſortes of graine, drinkes, beaſts, and other victuals by heapes, which made their armie ſeeme farre greater in number, than well furniſhed of good ſouldiers.

Their

Theyr batterie began about the end of Iune, ſtraunge and furious inough: but albeit the bullets fell as thicke within the towne, as great haileſtones out of the skie, and that there was not vpon the rampires, thorough the ſtreets or within the houſes, any ſure place and without danger, yet they within beſieged were ſmally feared therewith. Now making continuall ſallies and recharges vpon their enemyes in the midſt of theſe thickes and ſmoakes, they ſought them out, and by heapes beate them within theyr owne forts and trenches, and ſometimes conſtrayned them to abandon theyr trenches, and had leaſure inough to ſticke vp ſome of theyr peeces with nayles, and ſet theyr pouder on fire, ſo as they dragged into the towne one of theyr culuerines, and after ſhot many ſhootes at them, albeit the great ſtore of artillerie and munition which was continually brought to the campe, hourely repayred anie diſorder or annoyance, which the French with great labour and daunger could doo them, being a farre greater loſſe to looſe one man beſieged, than ten beſieging. Vppon this the tempeſt and thundring batterie of the enemies grew greater dayly, & there remained not within the towne, tower, or turret, to the leaſt battlement that fell not to the ground, there was not anie defence without or within, which they rayſed not. Briefly, in ſeeing it thus battered, & throwen downe, one would eaſily beleeue that they determined to laie it all to duſt. They within without anie reſpect at all of theyr owne liues, to the ſame place whether they ſawe the bullets bend, from moment to moment carried vpon their backes earth, faggots, turfes, and dung, which notwithſtanding much weakned them by reaſon of the continuall toyle which they in the daie had to rampire, and in the night to watch, to keepe ſentinell, and ſuſtaine diuerſe alarums with litle reſt, for a neceſsitie practiſing the office of ſouldiers and labourers both together, by reaſon of the ſmall number of artificers and pioners, and leſſe ſtore of anie neceſſarie tooles that was in the towne at a pinch, as pickaxes, ſpades, ſhouelles, mattockes, crowes, and ſuch ſort of yron workes, whereof they ſtood in ſo great need, as the ſoldiers within were conſtrained to peck the ground with ſpits, daggers, fire ſhouels, and as a man maye ſaie, euen ſcratch it wyth their nailes: for which and ſuch like wantes, many townes in France haue bene gotten by the enemie, albeit that they were well furniſhed beſides for good men: for help whereof, and to giue ſome reioycing to the long trauell of the beſieged, they cauſed the Captain *Grille* to enter in with one hundred harquebuziers on horſebacke. The which hee brauely entetpriſed and executed, and with ſuch conduct, as hauing forced the watch, with ſmall loſſe of anie of his ſoldiers he entered in, in the ſight of them all, which greatly increaſed their courage. The ſame daie they made a ſallie in like ſorte out vpon them luckily inough, & made their retreate like men of warre, without receiuing the worſe. But that nation ſhewed it ſelfe ſo greate an enemie to this poore miſerable towne, that ſhee forgot nothing whereby ſhee might make her extreame deſire appeare, of ſeeing the totall deſtruction therof, and how much by day & night they ceaſed not to torment it, by all means which they could poſsiblie imagine, by ſo much more increaſed the courage of the French, to repulſe them backe, for in leſſe than one houre they had made vp the rampire without the ladder, where they perceiued the artillery to begin to ſhake the wal, and made ſtronger in an inſtant, what in one daie had beene throwen downe, then it was before. Notwithſtanding the lightning of their artillerie was ſo terrible and violent thundering without intermiſsion, as there was neither rampire, banke, nor defence which it turned not ouer without remedie, the which continued ſo furiouſlie for the ſpace of neere hand ten dayes together. Within which time the enemies ſuppoſing that they had made a breach reaſonable and great inough, as in deed it was of

three-

threeſcore paces long, the wall, rampire, & all the defences as well of the caſtle as the great tower being broken downe and battered, no more remaining but a litle mount which they within had cauſed to bee made, and the parapect and toppe of the ditch, which was yet ſtrong, and hard for them to mount vp vnto, notwithſtanding that as well with the quarters and ruines of the wall, as with faggots and hurdles, they dyd what they could to fill vp the ditch, to make the ſcale more eaſie. That beeing knowen to thoſe within, they reſolued to abide them, and you may eaſily beleeue that they lefte nothing in theyr lodgings that was not brought out. After many vollies of artillerie, as well from the mountaine, which gaue right on the backe of the beſieged, willing to defend the breach, as from that which ſhot in face of them on the riuer ſide, with a great noiſe of Fifes, Drums, Trumpets, and diuerſe cries after theyr manner, they went furiouſly to the aſſault of all partes, carrying ladders and all kinde of engins to ſcale and force the towne, and there was that daie a moſt maruellous combat ſeen. For if the enemies were wilfull to enter in, much more had the French a better wil to defend themſelues and repulſe them. There could one haue ſeene nothing but wild fire, and vnquenchable crackling of armour, and all kinde of weapons, pittious cries of thoſe which were burned, maimed, turned ouer, and drawing towardes death: generally all ſortes of moſt terrible and furious executions, for the ſpace of more than ten long houres, the enemies refreſhing themſelues three times. In the end the reſolute conſtancie of the beſieged preuayled, and vanquiſhed the obſtinacy of the imperials, repulſing them with a great butcherie of theyr moſt braue men, not without greate loſſe of them that kept it, among whom the valiant Knight *De Heſſe* loſt his life, whoſe proweſſe was alreadie renowmed beyonde the frontiers of Fraunce in many places, namely in the Ilandes of England and Scotland, as alſo dyd *De Viennes*, *De Beaudiſne*, *De la Rochepoſay*, *De Blandie*, and the Captaine *Ferriers*, all men of marke, and of laudable conduct, with other valiant Gentlemen and ſouldiers.

A furious aſſault to Terroane by the Flemінges & Hanuiers, helde out by the French.

The King beeing aduertiſed how couragiouſly his men behaued themſelues, perſwaded himſelfe that to ſo victorious a beginning, there coulde not inſue but a moſt happie end, without ordaining anie further ſuccours for this litle towne almoſt torne in peeces of all partes, ſauing onely that hee cauſed *De Hedin*, the Captaine *Breuil*, and *S. Romain* with about three hundred footmen, to aſſaie if they could enter in. Which they moſt fortunatly performed, not without great daunger and hazard of their perſons, the enemies hauing with theyr trenches and mounts compaſſed and inuironed the towne round about, euen ſo far as to place their Corps de gnets within the ditches, who being neuer a whit the more cooled nor diſcouraged for that, fought daylye hand to hand with the French which kept the breach, and grewe much more earneſt in returning vnto it, aſſaying by all force poſsible to carrie it awaie, and did not onelie giue fire to diuerſe hollow mines in ſundrie places, the moſt part whereof they found falſe and vented, but they beſide practiſed a ſlight neuer before vſed, which was to dig vnder the parapect and backe of the ditch, beeing verie hard and vneaſie to mount vp to the breach, all the flankers and defenſes (as I haue tolde you) being raiſed and broken downe with the artillerie, hauing made certaine Taudis, which they call Mantelets, in faſhion of blinders, onely to couer them from hand ſtrokes and ſtones, whileſt that they did approach to the foot of the breach, vnder which they hollowed & trained their mine as themſelues could deſire. Whereat the French maruelling inough, perſwaded themſelues that the enemies were not able to hollowe and dig ſo farre as vnder their feet, which were aboue them vpon the breach, but rather that they wold drawe out the earth from vnder the caſtle, or the great tower Du Chapitre, but contrariwiſe

A ſtratageme of the Captaines. Breuill & Saint Romain.

trariwiſe they ſtill digged vnder the parapect, the length of the verie breach, holding vp the burthen with ſhores and piles, fylling the ditch full of the earth which they drew out. The worke being finiſhed, and fire put thereto, it happened that one parte of this parapect was blowen vp, and fel within the ditch, and the reſt ſunke in a heap, ſwallowing vp many French ſouldyers, the which made the mouth of the breach far greater, and ſo eaſie, as a man at armes might mount vp on horſeback armed at all peeces. Whereupon *Frances* of Montmorencie, according to the counſell of all the Captaines which were within with him, conſidering how there was no more meanes to defend the town or make anie reſiſtance, aduiſed at the leaſt how to ſaue the perſons, and demanded compoſition, which was graunted vnto him. But whileſt that they parlyed, the Germanes and Burgonians entered in at diuerſe places, and thereuppon the olde Spaniſh Enſignes ranne vp the great breach, crying, Faire warres, faire wars. Whereupon ſome French men drew to them with theyr pikes, and ſtretched out theyr handes vnto them to keepe them from beeing murthered by the Germanes. Nothing beeing able to bee otherwiſe concluded by this compoſition by reaſon of ſuch a ſurpriſall, where you might haue ſeene moſt ſtrange cruelties which the Germanes and Burgonians committed, ſpeaking of nothing but cutting of throats, ſo as the miſerable French men eſteemed themſelues moſt happie to fall priſoners into the handes of more gracious Lordes, from whoſe furie hardly could *Frances de Montmorencie* ſaue himſelfe, who onely remained there within lieutenant for the king, whom in ſeeking to couer and defend, *D'ouartie* was ſore ſet vppon and hurt in his preſence, yet afterwardes hee was knowen and carried priſoner to Binecourt, the Emperours Lieutenant. The other more apparant priſoners, as the Vicount *de Martiques*, *Dampierre*, *de Loſſes*, *Baudiment*, *Bailet*, *de S. Romain*, the Captaines *Grille*, *le Breul*, and *Saint Romane* yeelded themſelues to diuerſe maſters, as the hazard gaue them leaue: and foraſmuch as the ſimple ſouldiers were the firſt which entered in, and not the captaines or Lordes of authoritie, ſuch priſoners as could readily make anye money, went out good cheape, as the Vicount *De Martiques*, *Dampierre*, *de Saint Romane*, and the Captaine *Breul*. But ſuch as tarryed tardie were knowen, and in great daunger there to abide by it long. The ſurplus of the ſouldiers found at the Spaniards hands (to whoſe mercie the moſt parte were fallen) an honeſt entertainment, taking of ſuch as had meanes reaſonable ranſome, and the poore hauing ſtript them of their weapons and beſt ſtuffe, they ſent backe ſafely, and oftentimes themſelues conducted them. Within this little towne was found a great deale of good and groſſe artillerie, chiefly two verie faire and long Culuerines.

Terroane ſurpriſed vppon the tearmes of compoſition.

The crueltie of the Germanes & Burgonians at the taking of Terroane.

The principall priſoners taken within Terroane

The humanitie of the Spaniards towardes the French ſoldiers.

In this time the great Turke *Sultan Soliman* carryed himſelfe too rigorouſly towardes the perſon of *Sultan Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſonne, which he had of a ſlaue. Who hauing beene ſent with his mother from his firſt youth into the prouince of Amaſia, which was giuen vnto him, was ſo well and carefully brought vp, as hee there atchieued great honour and amitie, not onely of all in that Countrie, but thoroughout all the gouernments of his Father. This mother beeing abſent, *Soliman* tooke another ſlaue vnto him named *Roza*, of whome hee had foure other ſonnes, *Mahomet*, *Baiazet*, *Selim*, *Giangir* the crooke backe, and one daughter, which was marryed to *Baſſa Roſtan*. *Roza* being indued with admirable beautie, accompanyed with all the flattering delights and allurements which poſsibly one could imagine, knewe ſo well howe to plaie her part towardes *Soliman*, who was as it were a man rauiſhed, that by the helpe of *Muchthy* (as much to ſaie, as the ſoueraigne Prieſt of the lawe of *Mahomet*) and vnder colour of religion, ſhee was not onely made free of condition, but lawfull wife & ſpouſe

Soliman the great Turke cauſeth his ſonne to be ſlaine.

Religion lightly a colour for anie villanie.

ſpouſe of *Soliman*, to which neuer anie before her attayned. Raiſed now vnto ſuch honour, and ſeeing her ſelfe entirelie beloued, ſhe had no greater care than how to eſtabliſh the Empire vnto one of her children after the death of the father. But foreſeeing that the ſingular vertues of *Muſtapha* would bee ſo farre contrarie thereunto, that whileſt hee liued ſhee ſhould neuer haue reſt, (becauſe that he had gotten the loue of the men of warre, and how the eyes of all men were vppon him, for the great hope of his magnanimious courage and ſingular dexteritie) ſhe ſtudyed as much as ſhe could to make him become odious to *Soliman*, to which her ſonne in law greatly aided her, for that hee as then gouerned all the affayres. Her reaſons were, how that *Muſtapha* building vppon the loue and fauour which hee had gotten of all men, thorough his great liberalitie, courage, & dexteritie of ſpirit, burned with ſuch a longing to raigne, as euerie man feared leaſt in affecting the Empire, hee would ſhorten the dayes of *Soliman*, as alreadie *Selim* had done to his father. Therefore ſhee vrged *Soliman*, and beſought him with many and great teares that hee would take order therein, thereby to prouide for his owne ſafetie. Now albeit in the beginning ſhee ſmally preuailed, and that *Muſtapha* had well diſcouered the croſſe barres which ſhee ordinarilye prepared for him, yet ſhee neuer ceaſed to continue, by the helpe of a Iew, a moſt renowmed inchantreſſe, who hauing giuen vnto her certaine drugs, ſhee cauſed the amitie of *Soliman* to bee redoubled towards *Roza*, ſo well, as ſhe aſſured her ſelfe of a good euent at the laſt to her enterpriſes, albeit a delaie might bee for a time. Finally, after many practiſes, ſhee found meanes to ſuborne the gouernour of *Muſtapha*, and cauſed him to write (though falſely) vnto *Soliman*, howe his ſonne meant to take in marriage the daughter of the Kinge of Perſia. This olde man moued by the continuall plaintes of *Roza* and *Roſtan*, eaſily gaue credite to theſe newes and falſe aduertiſements, ſo as in the yeere 1552. hauing cauſed a bruite to runne of the Perſians comming downe into Syria, hee ſent *Roſtan* thether with a puiſant armie, for (vnder colour of going to meete with his enimies) to ceaze vpon *Muſtapha*, and bring him priſoner to Conſtantinople, with expreſſe commaundement to kill him, if otherwiſe hee coulde not take him. But *Muſtapha* aduertiſed of the whole matter, and howe that the Perſians were not at all in the field, came towardes him with ſeuen thouſand men of the beſt experienced in the warres, which cauſed *Roſtan* to make a quicke returne without dooing ought. Whereat *Soliman* beeing the more prouoked, the next yeere cauſed the ſame bruite agayne to runne, and how hauing leauied a great armie he meant to go himſelf in perſon agaynſt the Perſians. Beeing arriued in Syria, hee commanded his ſonne to come vnto him to his campe. *Muſtapha* knowing how it was him alone which they ſhot at, albeit hee was prayed and greatly ſolicited to auoide the furie of his Father, and retire himſelf into ſome other part, truſting in his owne innocencie, and thinking it a matter more commendable and worthie of his greatneſſe, to die in obeying of his Father, than liuing, to incurre a note of infamie and treaſon, yea, though thereby hee, might gaine the Empire of the whole world: thinking in like ſorte, that for that he neuer made anie refuſal, by his owne preſence hee might appeaſe the furie of his father went on his waie thether, but being entered within *Solimans* tent, hee was ſodainly taken and ſtrangled in his owne preſence, after at the ſame inſtant, the Baſſa his head of the Prouince of Amaſia, was ſtroke off. This crueltie beeing come to the knowledge of *Giangir*, the crooke backe, one of the reſt of the foure brothers, hee manfully reiected the gifte and ſpoile which his father had preſented vnto him, ſo that lamenting the death of his brother, he could not command himſelfe, nor refrain from vttering theſe ſpeeches.

Ha cruell Traitor, I cannot say Father, take now to thy selfe the treasures, the Horses, the Tapistrie, and the Prouince of Mustapha, *and gouerne it at thyne owne pleasure: could it fall into thy thought O infamous man! and without humanitye, to cause to dye against all lawe, so valiant a personage as neuer was nor neuer will be the like in all the house of* Ottomans? *Ha, ha, it shall not bee true, and I will take order, that thou shalt neuer bee able impudentlye to vaunte, that euer thou didst the like to me poore Crookebacke:* and at the instant drawing out his dagger, hee stabbed himselfe so farre into the bodye, as hee fell downe starke dead, which being knowne to his Father, hee maruelouslye mourned, and notwithstanding he spared not to sease of all his goods, which caused a great tumulte in *Mustapha* his Campe, but it was nothing in respect of that they did after they vnderstoode of his death. In such sorte as *Solyman* with great daunger of his life, was constrained to banishe *Rostan*, and depriue him of all honors and dignities. This death fell out very fortunatelye for the Christians, to whome *Mustapha* was a sore enemye, and tooke singular pleasure in shedding of their blood: it was likewise taken so greeuouslye of the Turkes, that from thence forth this prouerbe is growne among them, *Gietti Sultan Mustapha*, all is ended since that hee is dead, all is done whatsoeuer we thought of: for they imagined in their own fancie that it was he which should enlarge the bounds of their Empire in another manner of sorte then euer did his Ancestors, which they could not expect at the handes of any other.

Let vs handle againe the siege of Teroene.

The Emperour lying at Bruxelles, and being promptlye aduertised of the taking of Teroene, conceaued a verye great pleasure thereat, sweetening by the happe of this good fortune, the bitternesse of his former disgraces, so as throughout all the Countryes of Flaunders, Arthois, and Henaute were seene great bonfyers. Afterwards he commanded that it should be razed and throwne down to the very foundations, to the end nought might rest but the place, where it might be sayd Teroene had beene. Afterwardes hee sent the Prince of Piemont his Nephewe Lieutenant generall in his armye, to quenche a sedition and a certaine enuye which the Princes and great Lordes bare to *Binecourt* a worthy Cheefe of these troupes. But such is the malice among men, that it was neuer, nor euer shall bee, but that enuye will bee among equalles, albeit that often tymes it maye lye dissembled.

Teroene razed to the foundation by the Emperours commandement.

The King vnderstoode of these sorrowfull newes as soone as the Emperour, which at the instant seemed as strange vnto him, as any thing which they could haue made reporte of, considering how hee had before receiued an entire contentment of that furious assaulte which the French had so resolutely sustained: but being certified by diuers reportes how all the matter was handled, hee was greatlye greeued at the taking thereof, and much more bewayled his men, which he thought to be in a farre greater number dead, then afterwardes it was found to be. Now albeit that among the French the plainte was great, and the losse very preiudiciall, yet necessitye (the inuentresse and mistresse of all Artes) sharpning the wits of men to assay strange things, stirred vp the Kings spirit in a sorte, ioynte with the sorrowe and greefe of the losse, so that being aduertised how his enemies shortlye after this ruyne took their way, and prepared themselues to come and do as much at Hedin, he made ready all preparatiues to fortifie the same with men, and all thinges fitting to staye them shorte, or at the least vntill such a time as hee imagined his armye coulde be

in a readines, to the end to raiſe the ſiege and driue them into their owne Countrie.
Now the D. of Bouillon Marſhall of France, deſirous more and more to perſeuer in
The D. of Bouillon within Hedin, lieutenant for the King.
the K. ſeruice, had long time before vndertaken the defence of this Caſtle, to which
would needes accompany him *Horace Farneze* D. of Chaſtres, and the Earle of Vil-
lars, with a great number of other Lords, Gentlemen, and good Souldiers, who to
make proofe of their courage, of their own accord preſented themſelues to this ſer-
uice, albeit that the K. ſtoode in ſome doubt of the force and validitie of that place,
and had no affection at all to expoſe thither ſuch perſonages of ſuch authoritie: they
notwithſtanding preferring an immortall renowne before their goods or liues, went
to encloſe themſelues within this forte: to this verye ende were diſpatched couriers
and commandements to the Captaines of the men of warre, to haue in readines all
their companies, and as ſoone as it were poſsible to cauſe them to march and to ren-
der themſelues neere Amyens, where the Conſtable was, hoping to aſſemble toge-
ther there the Kings army, commiſsions were diſtributed to the Captaines of the
Fanterie, to make their leuies as ſoone as they were able, and to thoſe of the olde En-
ſignes, and entertained companies to furniſh them compleate, and wel armed to con-
duct them ſurely, and without plaints vnto the Rendeuous: there was alſo proclai-
med throughout all the Realme, that the Rirebands according to their dutie, and the
Kings ordinance, ſhould forthwith march and furniſh themſelues to the ſame place,
afterwards they aduertiſed and beſought the Zuizer cantons of the French league,
to ſend to their ſuccour a certaine number of footemen of their nation, the beſt ar-
med and compleate that they could, according to the agreement between the Kings
of Fraunce and them. The King in ſumme cauſed great diligence to be made, and
commaunded that all thinges ſhould be prouided for the putting of his power into
Great diligence vſed by the imperials to beſiege Hedin.
the fielde, where his enemies being aduertiſed and well aſſured, that if they did not
imploy that ſmall time which they could get, (within which the Kinges army might
be made readye) ſo to purpoſe as they might enforce Hedin, hardly they ſhould at-
taine to the cheefe of their enterpriſe, or retire without a battaile, or other peiudiciall
accident: they aduaunced with ſuch diligence their affaires, that the Towne being
voide of inhabitants, (who were fled and retired into France with whatſoeuer they
could carry away of their goods) was in very ſhort time taken by them, in reſpect it
was not much defended by Souldiers, who ſhutte vp themſelues within the Caſtle,
eſteeming it impregnable. There they planted on the one ſide one of their batteries,
and the other towards the parke, and the greateſt of all by the Towre Robin, where
the French had already made theirs, but notwithſtanding any reſiſtance which they
within beſieged were able to make, they were not able to diuerte them. This Caſtle
being little, which in al could contain but 2000. men, and that hardly hauing in times
paſt beene builded by the Dukes of Burgondie, onely for the pleaſure of hunting, &
not to fortifie it in any ſort, ſo not looſing one ſole hower by day or night to batter
it ſo furiouſlye as was poſſible, they trauailed not onelye to throwe it downe by
their artillerie, but vndermined it ſo diuerſlye and in ſo many places, that it was im-
poſsible that a Cony berry could haue more holes and hollowes vnder the ground,
Hedin beſieged, battered, vndermined, taken, and ſacked by the Imperials.
then were vnder the foundations of this caſtle, all the countermines & ſecrets within
being known & practiſed by many of the enemies, the place beſides being very ſub-
iect to this imperfection. Now the enemies had already battered and digged downe
the greateſt parte of the paraperte and rampire of the great breach, where a great
number of valiant men remayned, and alreadye giuen a falſe aſſaulte, when
all the

all the dangers were declared to the D. of Bouillon, and withall the irrecouerable losse of so many braue men as were within so vile a place, the taking of Teroane serving them for a fresh example, without comparison farre stronger then that Castle, wherefore of euerye side were proposed termes of composition, the which the Prince of Piemont willingly enough agreede vnto, standing assured how the chieftaines which defended that place were men of valour, and the souldiers full cunning at such an occupation, considering likewise that the time was very short to make any long temporising, curious besides to get good cheape, whereby afterwards he might the better imploy his army to matter of greater consequence. But as the Gentlemen and Trumpetters went from the one side to the other, to resolue of the composition already in good forwardnes, nothing resting but the deliuerye of hostages on both sides, and the signing with the Princes hand, two misfortunes happened to the French: the one, that a Priest not wittingly as since it was knowne, but through lack of foresight or some secret malediction, set on fire such workes and preparations as they had made ready to abide the assault: the other, that the Bourgonians greedy of the pray, by the sweetenes which they found in the sacke of Teroane, gaue fire to the traines of their mines, fearing to be frustrate of so great a bootie as they expected: so as one parte of the Souldiers being burned and consumed in these fires, another swallowed vp and perished in this gulfe of smoaking mines, the rest which were a very fewe astonied as if they had fallen from the cloudes, without daring to make any resistance, in respect they were forbidden to stirre from their places, or moue theyr weapons, attending the Princes signing and confirmation, were surprised and found themselues at the mercy of their enemies, before they euer thought them as yet to haue bene entred. The Prince of Piemont knowing this aduenture so happely fallen out for him and better thē he hoped for, would not afterwards signe what he had before promised, forgetting all the precedents, through the ioy which he had for the recouering of that place, and the prisonners at so easie a rate. So as presently mounting vp the great breach, he entred the Castle to goe to the D. of Bouillon, who as soone as hee perceiued him, moued with an extreame choller, which made him forget all feare of death, said vnto him: why how now Sir, is this the keeping of your promise? will you not send such hostages vnto me as you promised, and perfourme what is agreede betweene you and me? to whom the Prince answered with a smile, sufficient testimony of his ioy, how that he had spoken too late, and how it was no more needfull to giue hostages when all his people were already within. In summe, that after many speeches the resolution was, that they should remaine prisonners, to wit, the D. of Bouillon cheefe and lieutenant for the K. *De Riou* Gouernour, *La Lobe* Ensigne of the Dukes company, the Earle of Vilars, *De Prie* Lieutenant of his company, *De Guenon* guidon, *De Vanze* Marshall of the lodgings, the Baron of Culan, *De Marets* Lieutenant of *De Riou* his company of foot, with sundry other, whome seeing by apparance to be of some mark, he would needs haue their names, and afterwards more raunsome then otherwise he had: so this Castle was againe recouered by the imperials the 18. of Iuly, after the death of *Horace Farneze* D. of Castres, whom a bullet of a great peece carried away, and hard by him *De Magny* a renowned gentleman in the feates of armes, there died also the Vicecount of Martigues, who being deliuered out of prison at Teroane, presently repaired to this castle, hauing alwaies spent his time in many honourable actions: *Moninuille* of the house of *Amboise*, *de Cizeux* Cōmissioner of the wars, the C. *Lusignan* ensigne to *De Riou*, *De Dampierre*, who had likewise beene prisonner at Teroane, and came againe thither with the Seneschall of Castres, and

Horace Farnese D. of Castres, De Magny, the Vicount of Martigues, Moninuille Cizieux, Dampierre, Lusignan, and others dead at Hedin.

Captaine

Captaine *Vifargent*, who were ſunke within the Mynes, the Captaine *Maleſtrot* Lieutenant to *Maugeron*, the Captaine *Morarque*, captaine of a company of footmen, and the Captaine *Coq* Enſigne of Capraine *Cerf* his company of foot, were there ſlaine among the firſt in the baſe towne. The Emperour moſt ioyfull of the taking thereof, commanded that with all diligence they ſhould cauſe the Caſtle to be razed, but K. *Henry* much more redoubled his former ſorrow, being enforced notwithſtanding to run to the moſt expedient remedy, albeit there was before no other brute throughout all Fraunce, then leauying of men of warre, and all the waies couered ouer with Souldiers, he ſent againe to haſten all his companies, and in as ſhort time as was poſſible to make ready his army to hinder them from doing any other enterpriſe, thinking it ſure that they would as they threamed to Dourlans (where the Vidaſme of Chartres was) a Caſtle of leſſe ſtrength then Hedin, which the late King *Francis* had cauſed to be dreſſed vp with earth, to ſerue for a bulwarke and counterfort to Hedin, at ſuch time as it was enemy: therfore on all ſides poſtes flew about to ſollicite this preparation. As touching the men of armes and French cauallerie, they were by & by ready and on foote, as well in hauing bene placed in garriſons, as for the commoditie and leaſure which was giuen to the men at armes, to looke for a little time into their domeſticall affaires. The French fanterie was likewiſe very glad to be ioyned together, the olde Enſignes being compleate in their garriſons, and places ordained, with ſuch good order as the new captaines had ſet downe to make ſuddainly their leuies, and thorough the aduertiſement which they had giuen to their Souldiers to be ready at the firſt warning, as for the Germanes and Lansknets, ſuch as the K. had retained for his ſeruice, hauing alwaies bene entertained and paide were already in the fielde, ſo in very few daies and about the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, the K. campe grew far greater & greater, about Amiens and Pequegny, none remaining but the Zuizers and Griſons, who as well for abiding far of, as being of themſelues heauy and maſſie, came but by ſmal iournies, eſpecially to the end they might not be tyred, whē they ſhould arriue at the campe, but be freſh and prompt to fight ſuddenly if need ſo required: therefore they arriued not before the end of that moneth: after the taking of Hedin all the time while the K. army aſſembled, the imperials did nothing els then raze it to the ground, and employ themſelues to robberies, and burning of Villages all alongſt the riuer of Authia: and albeit that they had ſummoned the Caſtle of Orlan, and ſpread a brute that they ment to beſiege it, they made no ſemblant thereof for all that, nor that they were willing to attempt any new matter, vntill about the 13. of that moneth, when, hauing had aduertiſements how the Conſtable had cauſed 4. enſignes of the French fanterie, and 2. companies of light horſe to paſſe ouer the riuer of Some, they determined with 4. regiments of their caualery to ſurpriſe, and defeate them ſo readilye, that as they would haue executed the enterpriſe before that thoſe which were about Amiens ſhould be aduertiſed thereof: it fortuned that the Conſtable had addreſſed the ſame day another party to go viſit them as farre as their owne Campe, *Paul Baptiſta* hauing commiſſion to paſſe the riuer with 50. horſe to attacke the skirmiſh, and draw thē to fight, the D. of Neuers remaining in ambuſcade, with 3. companies of light horſe, in a wood vpon the banke of the riuer of Authia, who finding himſelfe at any time to be ouermatched, had *Sanſac* to reſcue him, who was behinde half a league of, with 5. other light cōpanies, the Prince of Conde was a quarter of a league on the right hand of him with 3. light cōpanies: likewiſe the Marſhall of S. Andre with 500. men at armes, a mile farther behinde towards the campe, the conſtable being halfe way between al his companies and the riuer, accompanied

The French army aſſembled neere Amiens and Pequigny.

with

with 4000. horſe, as wel of companies as Rirebands, and 20. enſignes of Fanterie, half French and halfe Lanskners, and 4. feelde peeces, but eaſing the French of the paines to goe ſeeke them out, they approched neere the Marſhall S. Andre, hauing lefte all their light Caualerie behinde them, ſo as three hundred horſecouriers ruſhed euen vpon the Conſtable without diſcouering any of the ambuſcades. Hereupon *Sanſac* his light Cauallerie began the skirmiſh neereſt to the Marſhals ambuſcade, where the French were borne downe, and rudelye put backe euen to the hindemoſt man, ſo as they tooke two priſoners, who tolde them that the Conſtable was not aboue a quarter of a league of with all his forces, the which cauſed them to haſten to giue the charge vpon the companies of the D. of Vendoſme and of Sanſac, who at the ſame inſtant was couered and charged by an other thouſand horſe, and vpon this medley the Marſhall began to march with a great trot right towardes them, which quicklye ſtayed them, and by and by they diſcouered the Prince of Conde in ſet battaile galloping to ioyne vpon them, whom as ſoone as they ſaw, they put themſelues in ſuch diſarray, as being recharged onely with fiftie helmets, they were put to flight: for the Prince of Conde ſo roughly ſet vpon them, as he and his company purſued them a long League, where were ſlaine of theirs betweene 7. and 8. hundred men, among whome there was found of renowne the Earle *D'eſpinoy*, and other great Lordes of the low Countries, ſeauen as well Enſignes as Guidons gained, neere 500. priſonners in number, among whom the D. of *Aſcot* was found. On the French part for men of reputation, the ſonne of *Canaples*, and of *La Roche Guion*, and the Guidon of Sanſac, remained there priſonners, with ſome other ſouldiers, eſpecially of the light caualery, not any great number either taken or ſlaine.

The D. of Aſcot priſonner.

This reencounter ſo happily executed, greatly quailed the courage of the imperials, who ſince did no matter of importance, for incontinentlye after they departed from Beauquеſne, where they were encamped, ſo as hauing razed the towne and the forte, they came by great iournyes as farre as Ancre & Miraumont, within 4. leagues of Peronne, French lands, where hauing put to the fire, and lodged ten Enſignes of their braueſt men within Bapaulme, thinking that according to the common brute, the firſt fury of the French would be there diſcharged, without making any longer ſtay, the body of their army retyred towards Arras, which was not as then very great or puiſſant, for many of them eſpecially of the borderers of Artois and Henaulte, retired to their owne houſes, to gather together the beſt of their goods, and encloſe it within ſtrong townes, or hide it in ſure and ſecret places, knowing that the Kings armie was all compleate, and was to put into the fielde within a fewe dayes, the which in the end of Auguſt was aſſembled together neere to Corbie: and the firſt of September the Enſignes of Fraunce were diſplaied about the little towne with a mighty great number of men, the which the K. would needs ſee vpon a little mount, eſpecially the Zuizers, how they ſet their battailes in ſuch ordinance, as they caried the prize ouer many nations, a thing which maruelouſly was agreeable & pleaſing vnto him: The Conſtable being generall of the army, and the firſt cheefe in the auantgarde, was accompanied with the Princes & Dukes of Vendoſme, Neuers, Anguien, Montpenſier, and the Admirall: each one of theſe Princes hauing a regiment of men of armes, which is of 200. men at armes, and ouer which they cõmanded 9. enſignes of French ſaudry, making vp the number betweene 15. & 1600. men, of whom *Chaſtillon* Admirall of France was generall, the Earle *Reingraue* colonell of the Lanſeknets, with *Reiſberg* had 4. regiments, which are 20. enſignes, making the nũber betweene 10. & 11000. men, foure Enſignes of Scottes, and two of Engliſh, amounting betweene twelue

The French army in the field.

and fifteene hundred men. *Sanſac* was the principall chiefe of the light Cauallerie, neere to two thouſand horſe, comprehending therein three or foure hundred Engliſh men, braue men, and well skilled in this occupation. The nobles and rierbandes were compleat verie neere three thouſand horſe, whereof *La Iaille* was generall, there were few of the particular companies of harquebuziers on horſebacke, for that the King had a little before made an ordinance therupon, to euery Captaine of one hundred men at armes, to leauie fiftie harquebuziers on horſebacke, armed with corſlets, murrions, vanbraces, or ſleeues of maile, with an handgunne or harquebuze, or a firelocke or cocke, within a caſe of well tanned leather, mounted vppon good curtailes, and vnto euerie one of fiftie, fiue and twentie in like equipage, conducted by a man at armes of the greateſt experience, eſpecially to that end to be choſen out of their own companie: all which made wel vp the number of twelue or fifteen hundred. A thing well inuented and by good counſell, to aſsiſt a man at armes in anie narrow or vneaſie place, and which gaue great countenance and grace to the armie, in beeing the firſt before the companyes, together with the diuerſitie of theyr apparell. In this battell was king Henrie neere vnto him, the Prince of Ferrara, the Duke of Guiſe, the prince of La Roche-Suryon, and the marſhall *Saint Andre*, euerie one of theſe princes hauing a regiment of men at armes as the reſt. The great *Eſcuyer de Boiſi*, and *Canaples*, wyth theyr bandes of the royall houſe, and the guardes as well French and Scots, as Suizers, and a number of great Lordes and Gentlemen following the King, as well in reſpect of their fidelitie, as to make knowen vnto him theyr vertue and good will. Of all ſortes of artillerie there was about one hundred great and ſmall peeces, ouer which *Eſtre* was great maſter and chiefe gouernour, a Gentleman verie watchfull and of great ſpirite, for the firſt daie of this voyage the armie made no great treate, incamping that night a league of Corbie in two little villages, vpon a current and ſmall riuer, beeing verie commodious for the ſame. The next morrow it followed almoſt the tracke and waie of the imperiall armie, to lodge at Miraumont, it happened that in theyr waie the Duke of Neuers ſlipped out of the armie with his regiment, taking the left hand towards the woods and forreſts, ouer againſt Arras, where ſome ſcoutes were diſcouered, who ſaued themſelues by theyr ſwiftneſſe within the thick of thoſe forreſts, which beeing well looked about, there was not one enimie found that made head, onely a fort within a lyttle village, which a lyttle after was forced by the harquebuziers, and found worſe prouided than they imagined. The which cauſed him to turne to Miraumont, to take his quarter. The ſecond of Septembber the D. of Guiſe with two regiments of men at armes, betweena thouſand and twelue hundred horſe as well of the light cauallerie as of the nobles, and ten Enſignes of French fanterie departed from the place, drawing thorough the rout of thoſe woods towards Arras, to diſcouer and cleere the moſt dangerous places, & ſubdue the forces of any which ſhould be retired thither, but he found not ought which was hard vnto him, hauing diſcouered as far as the ſuburbs of Arras. So returning for a teſtimonie of this voyage, fire was ſet on al the villages round about, with a deſolation and moſt lementable pitie. Now from Miraumont there were but two good leagues to Bapaulme, a ſtrong place, barren more thorough the ſcituation of nature, than anie workeman ſhip, but much more odious and hurtful to the French bordering vpon it, than euer Terroane was to the Bourgonians, ſo as ſecretly the better to know the place, and tempt the reſolution of thoſe that held it, the thirde of September the Conſtable with the moſt parte of the Princes, accompanied with fiue thouſand horſe, & as many of the French fanterie, went to view this place as neere as he was able, whereof *Hautſimond* a knight was

A new ordinance of harquebuſiers mounted.

Bapaulme repreſented.

was Gouernour, (much esteemed of among the Bourgonians) furnished with ten or twelue Enfignes of Fantassins, and three or foure hundred horse, who at the first fight did not any waies shew himselfe sparing of powder and bullets, besides they within shewed themselues very slacke and loath to come out to the skirmishe, but as farre as the Bullets of their artillerie might play, they kept a loose of, and perfourmed their dutie brauely enough almost foure houres, while the skirmish lasted. In these light reencounters there were hurt the Captaine *Breul* with a Harquebuze shotte in the thigh, and yong *Molimont* Sonne to *Molimont* the Gouernor of Saint Dizier and of Nogent, who afterwards dyed at Peronne: during the skirmish the Admiral with a smal company went round about the place, and found it pregnable, the rampier being of bad stuffe, and the fastening wherewith it was made but a thinne crumpled sand, which is no good earth. But the greatest difficultie of all was the remediles necessitie of water, albeit that the Constable had caused a great number of Pyoners to seeke out Conduit heads and springs, but no vaines of any lasting could be found out, so the determination of the siege was broke of and put ouer vntill another time: during this lingering there arriued at the Court the Cardinall of Saint George, being a Legate from the Pope to treate of a peace or truce betweene these two Princes: At their departure hence, all the Villages, Abbaies and mansion places appertaining to the enemy, not so much as sparing the windmilles neere to the gates of Bapaulme, being partely consumed, and the rest as yet of a flame and smoking, the ground and waies grew so durtie and slipperie, by reason of a whole day and nights raine, that the Souldiers and footmen could hardly get to their other lodging, named Morlincourt within two small leagues of Peronne: and the waggons and baggage sustained no lesse, whereof as well the garrison of Bapaulme, as the rest of the Pesantes about got good booties, spoyling the most scattered and worst conuoyed sorte of them: the imperiall armie in the meane time coasted them within fiue or sixe leagues, hauing the riuer as a barre and separation betweene them, albeit it was farre lesse then the French, for first euen at the nose of the imperiall Campe, the French went and burned and set fire on the Villages next vnto them, in respect of the fewe alarmes which they gaue vnto the French, except it were sometimes vpon their vallets and fourragers, the which they rather supposed grew by the spoyled and desperate Pesants, then by the men of warre: and lesse hurt was done to the victualers & prouisions brought into their Campe, all victuals being at a competent rate in the middest of an enemies Countrie, where they found nought but Granges voide of Corne and fourage, all sorte of victuals being already transported and withdrawne into the strong holdes. The which being come vnto the Kings knowledge, and sufficiently foreseeing that his enemy hoped and attended nought els then to make him temporise about some towne or other enterprise of small consequence, to drawe him on vntill the season of raynes, which beginneth soone enough in the colde and occidentall Countryes, to the end to ruine and weaken him, as well in cutting of all his victuals, as by diseases and coldes, afterwards to giue him battaile vpon his aduantages, concluded with his Councell to giue remedy thereto. The resolution then was to reduce his enemy into two extremeties, the one of which he perswaded himselfe was vnpossible for him to shunne, and perhaps yeeld to them both: either to hold his forces close together for the meeting of a battaile, or to seperate them for the defence of so many of his places, vncertaine which of them all should be first attempted by the king, considering the secret of his dessein, and the variable turning of his army, without any apparant resolution of the place whether it would turne head, vpon which perswading him

The dessein of Charles 5. Emperour against the French.

himſelfe of the aduantage of the firſt, and that the Emperour durſt not hazard a generall combate, conſidering he had not ſo many men as himſelfe, and that they were more then halfe tired with the long time that they had remained in the fielde, hee thoroughly reſolued to get by force, ſleight, or any other meane: the firſt place hee ſhould attempt, and to ſacke it, and ruine the whole countrie about in the eye of the Maiſter, and ſo to returne in triumph, as hauing braued and cauſed him to refuſe the day in his owne Countrie, and whereof he had vaunted himſelfe to be the firſt challenger. *Charles* on the other ſide meaſuring his aduantage rather by the valour then number of his people, ſupplying otherwiſe the long wariſomnes of theſe trauailes of warre, by diſcretion of well chooſing his aduantage, rather then to accept of battaile, no leſſe aſſured himſelfe to make vaine the attempts of the French in any place which they ſhould goe about to beſiege; alwaies prouided that his would haue the patience to ſuffer the firſt heate of the French, a little to euaporate as into ſmoake, knowing that *Henry* notwithſtanding the better to preuaile therein, made account to ſound Cambray, as well for that the taking thereof would be an example to ſundrye other of renowne, as thinking to prouoke the imperials rather to battaile, then that they would loſe ſuch a place, in which eſpecially he knew his owne credite not to be ſo deepely rooted, but that for a ſmall matter the inhabitants would ſhake of the yoke which not long before he had impoſed of them: ioyne that the towne hauing beene alwaies Neuters, ſuch occurrents might ſo happen, as he might make it partaker with him, or at the leaſt fauourable, if they would aſſiſt to the recouering of their auncient liberty, conſidering that in terming it ſelfe Neuter, it was not lawfull for him to haue any greater authoritie ouer it then the King, and the rather for that the magiſtrates and popular ſorte began to feele themſelues outraged by the vſurpation which he had made ouer them (hauing proceeded ſo farre to his own aduantage, as to build a citadell to keep them in ſubiection) he feared leaſt they would euen make plaine ouerture to the King, being as then the ſtronger. In ſumme, if the Imperialles ſhewed themſelues of good courage, the French cauſed no other brute to runne, but of the deſire they had to battaile, and how the King ſought no other occaſion then ſuch as the place and time yeelded vnto him: to wit, being there at hand in ſo large and ſpatious a plaine, to preſent battaile, or to ſummon the Towne according to the accord of neutralitie, to make him ouerrure, and giue him victuall, or proclaime it as his enemy: and ſo not farre from that place neere to Peronne, the French were encamped a two little leagues from Cambray. And the next morrow by break of day the King cauſed his army to be ſet in order of battaile ready to fight, ſending a herald of armes to ſummon the towne of her duety, ſignifying vnto them that he was not come thither to oppreſſe them, but rather to reſtore and ſettle them in their auntient libertye, which he well knew had beene already corrupted by the Emperour, of which if they would be reuenged and leaue that bondage, they could not haue better meanes then by his comming, that if the Emperour would quarrell for other aduantages, hee was there in perſon both to declare, and fight with all his forces to the contrary; if they did otherwiſe, they would be an occaſion of much miſchiefe to themſelues; firſt in loſing the title and priuiledge of being called Neuters, which is not affectionate to either the one or the others quarrels, by which meanes they had onely obtained the liberty to be able to traffique in both their Countries. Moreouer they ſhould thereby exempt their Countrie round about from the miſeries of the warre, otherwiſe they ſhould remaine for euer ſubiect to impoſts, loanes, ſubſidies, and all other maner of exactions, and be beſides that in danger to be partaker of the ſundrye trauayles

whereto a particular Country is abandoned and accuſtomed to ſuffer for his Prince. In ſumme they demaunded twiſe foure and twenty houres of the King to be aduiſed thereof, and to yeelde their anſwere, ſo the King cauſed his Campe to retyre a great league further backe, being lodged at Creuæcæur, of the appertenances of the Queene, and it was proclaimed thoroughout the whole armye, that vpon a great paine of corporall puniſhment no man ſhould dare take ought within the territorye of Cambray without paying for the ſame. During this delay the Emperours partye within Cambray certified him of this ſummons, as then lying at Breuxelles, who to comforte and releeue them with hope and courage, ſet downe many thinges vnto them: among the reſt that they helde of the Chamber of the Empire, and that hee was the Emperour to defend and protect them, not a King of Fraunce who ſought nothing but their ruine; ſo as hauing ſet before their eyes the example of Metz, hee promiſed the deputies that in caſe they ſhould be beſieged, hee would ſuccour them by all meanes whatſoeuer. And from thence gaue order to the Prince of Piemont, who was gotten with his army towards Valenciennes, that hee ſhould yeelde vnto them as much ſuccour as they would demaund, or well needfull for them, ordaining thereto for cheefe and principall Gouernours the Earls of Bōſſu and Brabanſon. The time of delay being expired, albeit the King knew well all theſe newes, yet hee ſent againe to ſummon them to knowe their reſolution, but they ſent worde that if it might ſo pleaſe his Maieſtie they were all content to remaine his humble neighbors and freends, no waies refuſing to giue him victuals, but that as yet they were not maſters ouer their owne goods, for that the Emperor ſpight of their teeth had put men and great garriſons into their towne, wherefore it was cleane out of their libertye and power to be able to diſpoſe of any more. Vpon this anſwere and mylde excuſe the towne was adiudged for enemy, and the ſame day being the eight of September, the Conſtable with two regiments of men at armes, and 3. or 400. light horſe and Rire-bands, followed by the Admirall with ten Enſigns of French fantery, went to prie and view round about, but in ſteede of hearing the crowing of Poultrie before, now nothing was heard but Cannons, harquebuze ſhot, and noyſe of all partes, eſpecially from the cytadell, which made the earth to tremble with the artillerie ſhot, wherewith they played vpon the French ſouldiers, entring therewith as thicke out of the Towne as waſpes vſe out of the hole of a tree after him that ſtirreth them: but ſo maintained and the skirmiſhes ſo gallantly handled, that they continued ſixe whole dayes togither, in one of which there was killed *De Breſe* captain of one of the French guardes, and before the Cytadell *Cornet* was ſlaine, Captaine of one of the companies of the French footmen. Of the Bourgonians there was of reputation taken and brought priſonners the Earle of Pondeuaux of the French Countie, *De Trelon* of the Duchie of Luxembourg, and other. In the meane time *Bourdillon* ſent vnto the King by *Newny* Enſigne of his companie, two Cornets of Bourgonians, broken and defeated at La Haiette, neere to Maubert Fontaine, the Gouernour of Cimetz, one of their cheefe remaining there priſonnier, the Baſtard of *Auanes* another of their cheefe leaders by his good ſpeede and well flying, ſauing himſelfe. Now to returne before Cambray, it was perfectly viewed and by the aduiſe of ſuch as had marked round about from the one end to the other, ioyne the reporte of the ſpyes and ſuch as likewiſe had viewed it within, found to be as much ſubiect to the Cannon & mine as any place might be: it is a great towne, ſcituate halfe in a bottome, and halfe hanging, where there is not any ſhew of Bulwarkes, Rampiers, or fortifications according to the new faſhion. On the ſide of Fraunce and the Eaſt, it is in a champion and arable

Their anſwere of Cambray to the King.

Skirmiſhes before Cambray.

Deſcripcion of the towne of cambray.

This towne of Cambray was ouer coueted of the K. of France, but neuer able to be reduced to the Flower delice, vntil Francis D. of Brabant. Anion, and Sonne of France, and onely brother to the King, had by ſiege taken the ſame, and ſo annexed by his prowes at this day to the Crowne of Fraunce.

The Citadell of Cambray.

ble Counttie, diſcouered well eight hundreth or a thouſand paces in breadth, not ſo plaine notwithſtanding but there is a little deſcent ſtill vnto the Towne hauing certaine ſmall bottomes and barricades betweene both, but I call it plaine for that it is not ouerſhadowed with trees, nor thornes, nor other places hindring the proſpect; on the weſt ſide where it is moſt lowe and the ſuburbs lye, there are gardens and groues of willowes, with ſome medowe and marſhe. Southwards there is a little hanging plaine towards the Towne, and a little further there are little hilles and valleyes, on the North ſide is a little Mountaine which taketh parte of the coigns of the citadell mounted ouer the higheſt parte of the whole towne, where there was wont to be an Abbey or Cathedral Church, almoſt ſquare, notwithſtanding one of the coigns ſtretcheth more towardes that little mountaine, then any part of the reſt, reſembling a coyne in forme of a ſpurre, ſeruing for a defence to the flankers with a platforme. As touching the ſcituation and foundation of the Citadell, one would iudge it at the firſt apparance white earth, as marle, if it were ſtone within, I would thinke it tender and eaſie to be hewen, as you ſee aſcler whereof ſome houſes are builded, but it is rather a white chalke then a hard ſtone, ſo as ſome holde that it was rather builded to holde the newter towne in ſubiection, then to make an impregnable fortreſſe for being ioyned to the Towne as it is, it were needfull to fortefie it, the one to ſuccour the other, by reaſon that the towne being taken would endemnifie the Citadell, which alſo being forced would be the cauſe of the loſſe of the Towne: but the Emperour partely in conſideration that this great towne would hardly be fortified, or at the leaſt not of a great and long time, and partely for that he would not oppreſſe the inhabitants with ſuddaine ſurcharges, firſt builded this little citadell, to ſet one foot within, and to be meet with the mutynies & rebellions of the citizens, to the end that by little and little he might make himſelfe maiſter of the whole. Therefore they helde out thorough the hope of a great number of men ſent vnto them, furniſhed with victuals, munitions and all other neceſſaries: beſides the Imperiall armye which fortified it ſelfe neer vnto them, to cut of victuals, and annoy as much as might be the French: and laſtly the raines which euer begin at that ſeaſon in thoſe low Countries, ſo great preſumptions had they to recouer the ſiege, for beſides the diuers alarms which they gaue vnto them, with continuall and hot skirmiſhes, they ſent out of the campe part of the field peeces, and cauſed it to be giuen out, that there were farre greater coming from Amiens, Corbie, S. Quentin, and Caſtelet, a great number of Gabions being already prepared, and ſleddes made ready to draw them to thoſe places where the approches ſhould be made, ſo farre as the Marſhals of the Campe went to marke and viewe the ſcituation, the better to order their quarters: notwithſtanding the councell had no ſuch intention, but to the end that ſtill holding them in this iolitye and opinion, they might breake and conſume the Imperials by little and little, who for that cauſe had more enlarged and ſeperated themſelues: wherefore without any longer delay, all the fortes round about being throwne downe and ruined, euen to the very Churches, the Towers and Steeples being vndermined and battered, and fire put to all the Villages, Granges, and cotages, euen to the very ſuburbes and gates of the towne, the French diſlodged marching ſtraight to the caſtle of Cambreſy. In the waye there were two fortes taken and ruined, obſtinate vpon very ſmall reaſon, whereby they well felte the effect of the conquerers choler. The firſt endured ſixe and thirtie Cannon ſhot, and a great and wide breach before it would yeelde, where the Captaine *Pierre-longue* was ſlaine, and twelue French Souldiers ſlaine and hurt, notwithſtanding there was not one liuing ſoule found within, hauing cõueyed thẽ-

Feeble places ought not ſo much as to offer to holde out againſt an army bringing canon.

ſelues

ſelues vnder ground, and hidden in ſome caues and mines, therefore they ſtopped cloſe all the ventes which they were able to finde. The other was not ſo ſtrong as the firſt, for that it was but a skurnie poulier of earth hanging houelwiſe to the halfe of a great towre, with drye ditches, where they within ſtanding very obſtinately to their defence, notwithſtanding any ſummons, made aboade two ſhot of the leſſer ſorte, after which hauing anſwered that they would not yeelde without ſight of the Canon, they made a ſigne to yeelde, but it was too late, for the Souldiers not as yet colde of their firſt furie, neuer ſtayed ſo long as the once diſcharging of a Canon, but ruſhed in as madde men to beate downe the gates, where afterwardes it was great pittie to beholde the ſlaughter which was there made, for there was not ſo much as one man taken to mercye: the battaile lay encamped round about the Caſtle of Cambreſy, without ſuffering any bodye to goe in ſauing one Enſigne, the which was lodged there to repell other, if they ſhould goe about to make any ſtirre: for the inhabitants were in great doubt what ſhould befall them. His Maieſtie and the moſt parte of the Princes and great Lordes was lodged in a ſumptuous houſe of pleaſure neere hand, which appertained to the Biſhop of Cambray, where inſtead of being reuenged of the burning of his Caſtle of Foulembray, which was done by *Du Reux* a kinſeman of the B. he not onely ſtraitely forbad they ſhould not ſet it on fire, but that nothing ſhould be carried thence or ſpoyled. A little aboue the riuer the Conſtable remained with the Vantgarde. Now all theſe boutes and deuiſes were but to marke the enemies countenance, for the French being aduertiſed that they ſtirred in no ſorte of the worlde to followe them, without any alarme, or ſemblance to come vpon them, hauing ſoiourned a whole day in that place, deſcended downe to Queſnoy, approching within two leagues of Valenciennes, where the imperial army was imparqued within a forte which they had there addreſſed. The next morning the 17. of September the baggage remaining in that place, and one hundreth men at armes with about 2000. foote for their garde, the reſt of the army aduanced forwarde to ſeeke out the imperials, and to preſent them battaile. Their forte was about a Culuerin ſhotte diſtant from Valenciennes, vpon the ſame Riuer of Leſcau which paſſeth along by Cambray, compaſſed in forme of a ſquare, enuironed with trenches and diches of a Pikes length, and betweene 10. or 12. foote hollow, ſeated halfe on the hanging of the hill towards Valenciennes, and halfe in the bottome along the Riuer, hauing on the ſide of the French a little hillock which went ſloping euen to the forte: beſides that it was very proper to place there the artillerie, and ſhot leuell into the fort, with great diſcommodities, therefore euen as the armye marched their ordinary pace in battaile, the auante couriers and light horſe ruſhing before to attack the skirmiſh, found a great number of their Cauallerie already in order of battaile vpon the little hillock ready for the Combate. And hard by they tooke one of the Countrie on Horſeback in habite of a Marchant, ſome iudging him to be a ſpie, who certified them that the auantgarde of the Imperialls had paſſed the riuer to come to fight with them, ſo as being brought vnto the Conſtable, and from him ſent vnto the K. hee was the cauſe of the aduancing forward of the army, and with as much ſpeede as might be ordering of the battailes in their places. In the meane time the skirmiſh grew warme, thorough the ſallye of a number of the imperiall fantaſſins, which greatly annoyed the loſt children, without any ſtirring of their men at armes at all, who kept themſelues a little aboue them, ſauing ſuch as ſometimes went out of their rankes to breake a Launce where they ſaw their opportunitie againſt the French, light horſe encamped front to front. During theſe skirmiſhes the Imperiall armye ranged it ſelfe, part into one

Repreſentation of the Imperiall forte.

one onely ſquare battaile within the forte, and the reſt was deuided by the flankers, eſpecially the Harquebuze ſhot, in the ſame manner as they vſe at the aſſaulte of a Town. The artillery was planted one part vpon mounts of earth, which drew aboue the hillock that I ſaide was one the ſide of the French, and the reſt was diſpoſed as well to ſcoure the defences, as all along the trenches. The ordering of the French army was in this ſorte.

The order of the French army hoping to gaine the battaile neer Valenciennes.

In the Vantgarde were two ſquare battailes, on the right hand whereof were 24. French Enſignes, among which was the Conſtable, the D. of Mompenſier, and the Admirall with their Regimentes of Demilances, which was ſixe hundred men at armes to each one, and a little belowe a partie of the nobles, and ſomewhat higher all their Harquebuſiers on horſebacke: that on the leſte hand was of 19. Enſignes of Lanſknets, there was in this wing the Princes, and the D. of Vendoſme, of Neuers, of Anguien, with the like number of men at armes as the right, and a party of the nobles a little more backward, with their men of ordinances, then the Conſtables were to conuer a little hill which was on their left hand, and the Harquebuziers more forward, neere vnto a little Village which was burned, to keepe that the enemy ſhould not ſo much as creepe on all foure by that way, without being eſpied. In the battaile were two other ſquare battaillons, that on the right ſide was of the olde Enſignes, in number 25. In this wing was the King with his whole houſholde and gardes, and the Marſhall of S. Andre with his Regiment of men at armes, on the left ſide were of the Swizers and Griſons 30. Enſignes, the moſt parte armed with corſelettes, vambraſes, taſes, and the beſt furniſhed that of long time hath come into France. In this wing were the Prince of Ferrara, the D. of Guiſe, the Prince of La Roche ſur-yon with their Regiments of demilances, eche one 600. men at armes, the Captaines *Momus* & *Eurard*, two of the moſt ancient and beſt experimented, had the leading of the loſt children. Now for ſo much as the fielde was very fit, plaine and champion neer hand a great league, the whole was ſo equally handled, that it hung with one ſame weight and meaſure, eſpecially the ſpaces which remained betweene the battailons of the footemen, and the rankes of the men at armes were ſo well compaſſed, that it ſeemed vnpoſsible to the French, (without ſome very great deſaſtere) that any harme at all ſhould happen vnto them: for to begin with the battailons of the footemen. The order whereof was ſo well eſtabliſhed, as that the author ſeemed to take the inuention thereof from the practiſe of the Romanes, that if the firſt rankes were at any time put backe, they ſhould retire into the ſecond, and the firſt and ſecond into the third, ſo might they three times reſemble and fight vnto the very laſt, each battaillon hauing his flankers of pikes and harquebuſiers which were able to make head in all places, and ſuccour as well the horſemen, as the core of their battailons: The whole was ſo well armed and couered, that when the Sunne had ſhone, you would haue iudged all thoſe troupes to haue bene heapes of Siluer. As for the horſemen each regiment extended farre, ſo as there were alwaies 200. men at armes in a front, and their ſuite of Archers at their backe all along, in ſuch ſorte as if a man at armes had beene ouerthrowne, the ſecond had ſtraight ſtept into his place, ſo as they had al meanes to fight euen to the very laſt. The Enſignes of the men at armes were in the midſt, and the Guidons in the midſt of the ranke of the Archers: as touching the light cauallery, it was deuided into foure ſquadrons, that of the vantecourriers which was at the skirmiſh was led by *Paul, Baptiſta* and *Sanſac* kept the other in ambuſh within a little hollow, on the hanging of a ſmall mountaine on the left hand, the Prince of Nemours had an other behinde a little hill betweene the army and the forte of the imperialles

An inuention of the French ſo to order, as all their troupes in one day ſhould fight in battaile, taken from the ancient Romanes.

and

And the prince of Conde lay in ambuſh with his in a little bottome al along the high way to the Towne, to ſtoppe the paſſage that way. Touching the artillerie, that of the vantgarde was vpon the front of the right wing, and that of the battaile vpon the hanging of a little hillock, on the lefte hand of the Zuizers and Griſons, who had already made an end of their ceremonies, with intention to fight and dye euen to the very laſt man, before they would make one falſe pointe. Now beſides that the aſſiſtance of ſo many men was able enough to put courage into the moſt faint harted, the preſence of their King ſet them a gog much more, who being accompanied with a great traine of Princes and other great Lords, went notwithſtanding to viſite and encourage ſuch as had any neede, with ſo ſweete and amiable language, ſtirred vp with ſuch vehemency and affection, that eche one ſeemed moſt willing to dye for his ſeruice. Now his whole army being thus ranged in order of battaile, and the skirmiſh growing more and more eager on the one parte and the other, the Imperiall cauallery ſtood ſtil, and ſeemed euer ready to al euents vpon the little hillock. And ſo were they attending their comming more then three long houres, a brute of their comming flying vp and downe ſo long among the French, that night at the laſt approched. In the end the Conſtable foreſeeing that they cunninglye delayed vntill the night grew darke, either to ſurpriſe or put them out of order, aduiſed the light Caualleryе to ioyne together to ſeeke out the height of the Imperiall Cauallerie. The which was readilye executed, but with ſuch a cheerefulneſſe and dexteritye, that they beate them backe, and liuelye droue them in leſſe then nothing, euen to the very boorde of their Trenches, cauſing them almoſt all to fall huddle vpon one anothers tayle into them; where of the French ſide of reputation was ſlaine *Ieulis* a gentleman of the Duchie of Bourgondie, hauing beene brought vp of a Page in the Kings houſe: it was then that their artillerie, as well that of the flankers, as that which was vpon the mountes of earth, began to play their priſe, the which killed ſome, and hurte more of the French then were found to haue beene hurte by any handſtrokes. Among the reſt there was ſlaine the Captaine *Steph* an Italian Gentleman, Lieutenant of the companyes of light horſe to the Captaine *Senetaire*, and *De Ferriere* Lieutenant of the companies of light horſe to *Giury* of the houſe of Eſtanges. This bickering endured for all that more then a long houre, whereon the French parte there was ſlayne of horſe and foote about one hundred men, ſo as when the retraite was ſounded the Sunne was alreadye ſet, and the night cloſed in. Now had the Councell long debated, whether they ſhould aſſayle them euen within their owne forte or no, conſidering the good happe of their firſte charge. But the better parte were of opinion that they were rather to content themſelues, in that they had already done them ſo great ſhame in their own Countrye, as not onely to haue executed a parte of their Princes will, but to haue preſented vnto them the battaile, which they ſtill threatned to doe from the beginning, and now coldely enough and with a ſlender excuſe had refuſed. Their reaſons not to attempt any further were; firſt that the French Souldiers were growne wearye and faynte, as well with marching as with the weight of their armour, contrariwiſe the enemies were freſh and repoſed, not hauing for certayne dayes together runne the fielde. That the Countrie was theirs, and their proper enheritance, which would encourage them to fight the more couragiouſly. Ioynt that conſidering the ſcituation of the place, they could not be aſſailed but to their great aduãtage, as the battaile of Poitiers and La Bicoique might well ſerue for example. Likewiſe that the French were not onely to fight at the firſt forte, from which though it were

How the artillery was ordered and diſpoſed.

The K. preſence giueth great encouragement to the Souldiers.

The charge of the French Cauallerie.

Conſultation whether the enemies were to be aſſailed within their own forte or no.

loſt, the Imperials might eaſily retire into the towne, ready to begin a freſh; eſpecially when they ſhould be able to doe both the one and the other, the French ſhould be ſure to be the firſt which ſhould take all the paine and hazard of the enterpriſe, a good parte of them leſte behinde in gage, if not all, as well for that it is not the propertie or nature of a Zuizer or Lansknet, to aſſaile a towne or fortreſſe, as in that they are not otherwiſe ſo affectionate or enclined as ſubiects are to their Prince, whereby if it ſhould ſo happen that the K. ſhould be in an enemies Countrye, vnfurniſhed of the better parte of his forces, it were to be feared that many miſcheefes would enſue, according to the vncertain occurrence of feates of armes. And therefore it was concluded that it was far better to retire with honor, thē to hazard ought vnder the hope of an vncertain & aduenterous good luck, ſo they placed againe the battailons of fantery in ſingle ordinance: afterwards they returned to the place where their baggage was loſt, the Conſtable with all the Demilances and Cauallerie of the vantgarde, was the laſt which departed to ſee if they would play the wagges in the end, and ſet vpon them behinde, which they neuer once offred; ſo as by the light of the fires which burned the Farmes and villages for three leagues round about, the French in the end found their firſt lodging, where at night it was propoſed in councell by ſome Lords, that there was very great meanes and occaſion offred to returne againe to ſeek out the enemye, to fight with them, and enforce them within their owne forte, for that by the reporte of ſome priſonners which were newlye come thither, it was not of ſo great defence as it was adiudged: aſſuring that on the South ſide in the bottome by the riuer it was very weake, and that there their trench was not perfited nor fiue foot high, that there would be meanes enough to pitch and order the battailes, and to make it be aſſailed by the loſt children, whilſte that the artillerye planted vpon the hillockes of the flancker ſhould ſhoote leuell in. The which would either make thē to come out in diſorder and ſo quit the place, or ſuffer themſelues to become a deadly marke to ſo many Cannon ſhot, as would ſhoure downe vpon them. But albeit that this aduice was at the firſt allowed for ſound, yet after that the olde and experienced Captaines, had deliuered their minde, and ſpoke as they thought good, they found that the latter opinion was the more ſure: following which, after one dayes abode to refreſh themſelues, the army retired towards the caſtle of Cambreſy, where likewiſe the French remained another daye, without ſetting fire either on that fayre houſe, or the towne, onely all the victuals within were taken out, for that the enemies ſhould not be releeued therewith. Afterwardes they retired as farre as Fonſomme, two ſmall leagues from S. Quentin: and there was the army diſſolued about the 20. of September, for the Zuizers well paid and contented, had leaue to retire into their owne Countrie, and parte of the Garriſons was put all along the frontiers, and the reſt ſent home to the gouernement of their Captaines: as much was done with all the Nobles and rirebands. The other parte of the Demilances and light Cauallerie, with the olde Enſignes and the Almanes, were retyred and aſſembled at Auchy to Chaſteau below Hedin, & led very ſhortly after by the Marſhal *S. Andre* towards the Countye of S. Pol to deſtroy it vtterly, and to waſte and ruine for euer, as well the Baylifwicke of Hedin, as the Countye of Ponthieu, and all the reſt of the countrye of Arthois, which was put in execution by him in the very viewe of his enemies, without any reſiſtance, remaining ſtil ſuperiour, with ſuch fury and deſolation, that there was not ſo much as the poor ſhepheards cottages or houels ſpared, but the whol country ſet on fire, & aſhes round about Aire, S. Omer, Liſlars & Perne, the caſtle wherof was by force taken, & about 50. ſpaniſh ſouldiers ſlain & hewen in peces.

Retraite of the French.

Retrait & departure of the French army.

The Marſhall S. Andre ſent with part of the army to recouer the County of S. Poul.

Thus

Thus was the voyage of the French armye, more remarquable for fires, ruynes, ſackings, and all other ſorte of deſolations, by th'example: and in reuenge of the Hannuyers and Bourgonians ouer France, then for any tricke of notable vertue, ſauing a braue skirmiſh which the Vidaſme of Chartres made before Liſſars, with fifteene Enſignes of French Fanterie, and almoſt two thouſand horſe, againſt nineteene Enſignes of the Spaniſh Fanterie which lay encamped about the little towne, for that the inhabitants had ſhutte the gates vpon them, fearing to be ſacked by them as their neighbours had beene. The skirmiſh laſted almoſt a whole day, eche partye being obſtinate to the gaining of the victory, which after a long hazard & vncertaine combate, remained to the French, very few of them being either dead or hurte, but many more of the Spaniards, whereof in like ſort diuers were brought away priſonners. After all this coyle the French returned to Anchy, and about Hedin, where the Almanes were put in garriſon, the bayliwick whereof was giuen by the King to the Count *Reingraue*. In ſumme towards the end of the moneth of October, ſome companies as well of the French Fanterie, as light caualleric being caſt, the reſt were deuided and put into garriſons, to paſſe ouer the winter which drew on.

Count Reingraue.

In the meane time the Emperour proceeded on to purſue a marriage betweene his ſon the K. of Spaine, and the infant *Mary* new Q. of England, with ſuch earneſtnes, as he forgot nothing which might ſerue to the conſummation thereof; ſeing him ſelfe almoſt out of all hope to haue ſuccour elſewhere, or recouering of any monie at neerer hand: which many of that Realme ſought to hinder foreſeeing an immortal warre with the French, which was prepared for them by this meanes; remembring well the loſſes and damage which they had alreadye ſuſtained, in hauing vpholden the warre againſt this nation, from whence the Countrie of England reaped great commodities. Notwithſtanding ſo much auayled the perſwaſions of the Emperor, with the inſtigation of the two Queenes *Mary* and *Elenor*, and aboue all the inductions of Cardinall *Pole* coſin to the Q. that ſhe being cleane rauiſhed with this new loue, and with the ambition to ſee her ſelfe wife to the Sonne of an Emperour, the better to aſſure her eſtate againſt the reformed and other malcontents, in ſpite of the aduiſe and liking of the greateſt of her Realme, keeping her ſiſter *Elizabeth* likewiſe a priſonner, conſented to this marriage. Afterwards with as much ſpeede as was poſſible ſhe affianced by Proctor (which was the Earle of Aiguemont) *Philip* K. of Spaine hoping ſhortlye after to perfit and conſumate the ouerplus. The K. knowing that all theſe things tended to no other end, but cheefely to endamage and annoy him, made a great maſſe of monie, calling ſuch to his aide and ſuccour, as he knew were moſt obedient and faithfull vnto him, and as hee thought beſt able to aide and do him ſeruice.

A marriage treated between the K. of Spaine, and the infant Mary new Q. of England.

Pope *Iuly* to the end to pacifie theſe great troubles of Chriſtendome, had ſent the Cardinall of England to mediate a peace betweene the King and the Emperour, for you muſt vnderſtand that vpon the purſute of the warres of theſe two Princes, Pope *Iuly* ſeeing all Europe as it were much moued with the feare of miſcheefes which was likely to enſue to euery Countrye, by reaſon of the particular quarrels of theſe two Monarcks, with a ſecret remorſe and gnawing of conſcience, for himſelfe had beene the Author, had ſent the Cardinall of England his Legate to the King and the Emperour, to aduiſe, and by all meanes to vnite, and cauſe them to condeſcend to a good peace: in which he imployed himſelfe ſo vertuouſly, that laying aſide all ambition, or feare of hatred, or other cõſiderations, he neuer ceaſed to lay

Cardinal Pole ſent to treat a peace betweene the K. and the Emperour.

before them the infinite miſeries wherewith the poore Chriſtian people were afflicted, togither with the vncertaintye and miſerable eſtate, whereunto the Catholicke Church by their diſſentions was reduced. And albeit that many accounted him to fauour the Emperour more then the King, yet hee ſeemed to haue ſo well managed their hartes, that the hope of a peace was alreadye common thorough out Fraunce, and quarters neighbouring about: yea ſo great that the poore borderers of the one and other Lord, perſwading themſelues thereof, ſo aſſured themſelues by little and little, that they reedified and began to reinhabite their cottages and ſmall tenementes, as yet beſmoaked with the fire, wherewith they had beene burned to aſhes, ſo farre as euery man promiſed vnto himſelfe a happy repoſe, if it would pleaſe God to mollifie the harts of theſe two great Princes. But euen as all the tokens of *Moſes* and *Aaron* hardened the more the obſtinate courage of *Pharaoh*, to the end afterwards to make the great wonders of the Lord to appeare: ſo this great God, not yet ſatisfyed and content with ſo ſmall a puniſhment for our enormous ſinnes, would not permit vnto them the vnderſtanding to receaue a good and aſſured peace, for the eaſe and repoſe of all Chriſtendome: wherfore the Legate after many trottings to and fro of each ſide, returned very ſorrowfull vnto the Pope, leauing in the harts of theſe two Princes, this ſo inueterate an enmitie, whereof the clamors could not ſo ſoone mortifie the effects.

Birth of Mountſac.

The Queene was deliuered at Fontaine-bleau about nine of the clocke and three quarters paſt in the morning, the eighteenth of March 1554. of a ſonne named *Hercules* by *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine, *Anne de Montmorency* Conſtable, and the Ducheſſe of Guyſe daughter to the D. of Ferrara: afterwards leauing that name he was called *Francis* D. of Alencon, and of Aniou.

In the meane ſpace and about the firſt of the ſpring there aroſe a certaine brute of a warre at hand betweene theſe Princes, and much furniture and weapons were diſperſed, whereby they might bee poliſhed and made readye to the ſeruice, afterwardes to be muſtered, as ſoone as the fame was ſpread throughout France, how the Emperour had prepared a great leauye of men of warre, and all other ſortes of prouiſions, towardes the Countries of Liege and Ardennes, with intent to beſiege the Towne of Meſieres, hauing eſtabliſhed Mariembourg and Auanes, as ſtore places and markets to his armye, ſo as *Bourdillon* who then was at the Courte, was preſently ſent back to fortifie & ſtrengthen this little Towne, with whatſoeuer ſhould be neceſſary to attend their comming. On the other ſide the K. foreſeeing the Empeperours determination and intent, made all meanes to aſſemble his forces, to the end to meet him and preuent him of this ſmall enterpriſe, hauing ſent ſufficient enough of ſuccour into Piemont and Italye, thereby to purſue and continue ſuch good beginning, as fortune in that parte had preſented vnto him. Beſides hee diſpatched Captaines and commiſsioners to bring him men of warre as well out of Germany as from thoſe Cantons of Zuizers as were his confederates. This was about the ende and iſſue of the Spring, when as the Sunne rayſing him ſelfe high, to ſend among vs his great heates, burned and conſumed the fruites of the earth, with ſo ſtrange a drouthe, that togither with the long trauayle of the warre the poore people expected nought els to the aggrauating of their miſeryes, then a great and mortall famine for the heape of all theyr pouertyes, which notwithſtanding came not to paſſe, and ſo certaine dayes paſſed ouer, that the King ſeeing all his forces readye, albeit that his enemye made ſemblaunce of nought

elſe

els, then buſied in the conſummation of his ſonnes marriage, determined to aduaunce forward, and by the ſame place that he was threatned to be aſſayled, to aſſaye him, and enter within his Countryes. To this end he aſſembled his forces and deuided them into three, to wit, in Pickardy about Saint Quintin, vnder the Prince of La Roche Sur-yon, in the Valley of Laon, towards Crecy vnder the Conſtable, and at Meſieres vnder the Duke of Niuernois. Vnder the Prince of La Roche Sur-yon, might be nine or ten thouſand footmen, the moſt parte Picardes, and the reſt of the olde Enſignes, with three hundred men at armes, and fiue or ſixe hundred horſe, and Harquebuziers on horſeback. Vnder the Conſtable were fiue and twentye Enſignes of French fanterie new and olde, two Regiments of Germanes of the Count *Reingraue* and *Reifberg*, and fiue and twenty Enſignes of Zuizers, with foure hundred men at armes, and neere eighteene hundred or two thouſand as wel light horſe as Harquebuziers on horſeback, whereof the Duke *D'Aumale* was Generall, a little before come out of priſon, and almoſt as many nobles in the Rireband, vnder *La Iaille* their General, there were alſo ſome companies of Engliſh and Scottiſh Cauallerye. The D. of Niuernois had twentye olde Enſignes of French Fanterie, drawne from the garriſons of Metz, Verdun, Thoul, d'Anuille, Yuoy, and Montmedy, (comprehending therein foure Engliſh and Scottiſh Enſignes) in place of which other new were put in, two Regiments of the Count *Rokendolphe*, and of the Baron of Frontenay, three hundred men at armes, neere eight hundred light horſe and Harquebuziers on horſeback, whereof the Prince of Conde was generall, and two hundred piſtoliers Germanes. The army then being thus deuided in three diuers places, to the end to holde the enemy in doubt of what they had deliberated to execute, and on which ſide they wold ſurpriſe him, the French entred by three ſeueral places into his Country. The Prince of La Roche Sur-yon hauing paſſed the riuer of Somme, gaue within Artois, with a moſt cruel and furious a beginning, burning and ruining all the Countrye alongſt as hee paſſed. The Conſtable hauing taken his waye towardes Mauber Fontaine, the 23. of Iune, fained as though hee would addreſſe himſelfe towards Auanes, the common brute being that hee went to beſiege it: but as ſoone as the Enſignes of France were diſcouered by thoſe of the plaine Countrie, they abandoned Villages, boroughs, Caſtles, and other places, conſtrained for their ſurety to retire within the Ardennes, with the better parte of their moueables and Cattell, eſteeming themſelues (conſidering the places vnacceſſible, thorough the difficultie of being able to bring artillerye) exempt and out of all perilles, amidſt the thickeſt of thoſe woods, by reaſon whereof they were able the more eaſilye to ruyne the Village and Caſtle of Cimetz, the Caſtles of Trelon, Glaion, Commins, and other little fortes neere hand. Beſides their retreate ſerued them to very ſmall purpoſe for the Duke of Neuers being determined to tame and bring vnder his obedience, this nation ſmallye frequented through the difficulty of the Ardennes, diſlodging from Meſieres, encamped his armye at the entrance of the Ardennes, in a Valley rough and vnpleaſant enough, at the end of which there is a little Village called Vieil-meſeuil, a name very aptlye giuen, for that it was rather compoſed of olde ruynes of manors, then of houſes of habitation. And that night hee diſpatched *De Marets* a Gentleman of Niuernois, one of the moſt ancient and experienced men at armes of his company, together with his Trumpetter to ſummon the Caſtle of Orcimond, diſtant ſixe great leagues thence, to whom the gouernour called *Colas Lois*, Lieutenant to *Bayſon* a Gentleman of Liege, who a little before

The K. army aſſembled in diuers places.

The French entreth in 3. places within the Emperours country.

The army of the D. of Neuers and his exploites.

before nothing miſtruſting their comming, was departed thence, anſwered that hee would neuer yeelde except he ſaw the Cannon, not for that hee eſteemed the Caſtle tenable, but by reaſon of the height of the Rocke vpon which it was ſcituate, which was almoſt vnacceſſible on two ſides, notwithſtanding they planted the artillery in a little plaine towards the wood for the batterie, the place appertained to *Barlemont* Generall of the Emperours finances. This anſwere being heard, the Prince determined to goe ſomewhat neerer to viewe them, and to lodge his armye one league from the Caſtle, if the difficultie of the places had not ſtayed him halfe way, in ſome places ſo hard and ſtonye, that it was impoſſible for either men or horſe to ſtand ſure, and beſides ſo ſtraite, that they were enforced to march ſingle by one and one, and in ſome ſo ſteepe and painefull, that their breath failed them in climing, and elſe where the deſcents were ſo ſteepe, that they were faine to creepe downe pace by pace, and to graſpe and holde faſt, except their head ſhould firſte tumble downe, to their aſſured death: ſo as the horſes ſerued to very ſmall vſe for drawing of the artillerie, the force of mens armes being there much more needefull, for the better and more ſure managing and conducting thereof: true it is that throughout there was ſo good order kept, as the enemies could hardly giue any impediment therevnto, for that all the waies were furniſhed with Harquebuziers euery ten pace, for the ſuretye of the whole trayne: this night being the 29. of Iune, the Prince encamped in another Valley called the Valley of Suranda, neere vnto a rocke, where was wont to be the forte of *Linchant*, at this day for the moſt parte ruined, vnder which and all alongſt this valley runneth a riuer, or rather a ſwifte ſtreame called Semois, which runneth towards Bouillon, and falleth into La Meuſe, vnderneath Chaſteau Regnaut, from this place hee ſent *Iames* with a Regiment of French Fanterie, and artillerye to batter the Caſtle of Orcimont, which as ſoone as it was ſaluted with two Cannon ſhot, they within being altogither diſmaied, without concluding in any other ſorte of yeelding, neuer ſet themſelues to any defence, but the Cheefe ſecretly ſhut vp all the keyes, and by a ſecret poſterne which opened into this valley between the rocks, ſaued himſelfe with 12. of his moſt fauoured Souldiers, leauing the reſt well aſtoniſhed and doubtfull of the euent, who notwithſtanding ſhortlye after yeelded themſelues to the mercy of the Prince, whoſe priſonners they were: when the Captains of the reſt of the fortes all along theſe wayes, had receiued aduertiſement that for certaine the Prince had trained his artillerye, which before they would neuer haue beleeued, without further endeuouring how to annoy his paſſage, or to ſtoppe and hinder his wayes with great Logges and trees felde downe, as they are wont, cleane abandoning their fortes, munitions, and all places whether they were wonte to retyre themſelues, they fledde of all handes, ſo as being arryued at Louettela grande, after their departure from the Valley of Suranda, they found a little forte called Villarcy, of earth and timber, all voide, the which 25. or thirtie Couriers which had been there within had quited, vnder the charge of the Captaine *La Loſſe* borne at Meſieres, which euer ſince his tender age had beene brought vp in the ſeruice of *Lames*, and after his death continually followed the parties of his maiſter. Abandoning thus this forte, hee ſet fire of all the houſes and ſurplus of the reſt of the village, whereby the Vaſtadors ordained thereunto by the D. were eaſed of much paines, A Church likewiſe which the Ardennois had cauſed to bee fortified called Fort de Iadines, was found open and abandoned, which in like ſorte was all razed, and beaten downe ſauing a great ſquare tower, whoſe coynes and faſtnings in the building were broken

The difficulty of the Ardennes.

The fort of Linchant ruined. Streame of Semois.

The Caſtle of Orcimont ſummoned, beſieged battered, and yeelded vp by the flight of the Defendants.

broken and ſcattered about, by the Cannon ſhot, which the Prince in paſſing by cauſed to be giuen. In ſomme al the villages, faire enough cõſidering the barrenes of the Countrie, were burned and deſtroyed. And for that the fort of *Iadines* was the moſt hurtfull of all the reſt to the French, bordering vpon them, the gouernours of Meſieres oftentimes aſſaied to take it, but euer in vaine vntill this blow. About the laſt day of Iune, the Prince encamped at the village of Valſimont in the bottome of a vallie, where a ſwift ſtreame runneth called Vouye, which commeth from the mountaines and falleth into Meuſe neere at hand: thence he ſent the Harrowlde of Angouleſme with his trumpetor to ſommon the Caſtle of Beaurin, in the confines of Ardennes, & vpon the limits of the countrie of Liege, which likewiſe appertained to *Barlemont*, the Emperours fauorite. Reporte being made vnto him, how the ſouldiours had brought great booties out of the woods, with a number of women and young maydens, knowing that in this furie of warre, they could hardly helpe and protect them ſelues, he made them all to be ſhut vp, with commandement vpon paine of life not to do them any force or violence: but to bring them all into a certaine lodging, wher hauing vſed great liberalitie towards the ſouldiers, he made them be ſafely kept vntill the next morrow that the Campe was departed. And then vpon the reporte of the Harrowlde of Angonleſme, how they of Beaurin ment not to yeeld except they ſaw the Cannon, they marched thitherwards. Hereupon ſuch as were appointed to take the view were receiued by them with the bullets of many harquebuſes a croc, and muskets, willing to ſhew that they were prouided as well of courrage as other neceſſaries, ſo attending vntill fower Cannons were preſented vnto them, readie to giue fire. But finding what danger they were in, and being aduertiſed that if they did not yeeld they ſhould all paſſe at the ſwords point, and ſuch as eſcaped by the hangmans hand, after hauing a while parlied and demaunded to eſcape life and goods ſaued, they were in the end reduced to this extreamitie, that they ſhould yeeld themſelues to the good mercie and pleaſure of the Prince: who cauſed the chiefe of them to bee kept priſoners, and ſent away the reſt of the pettie companions, euery man a white ſticke in his hand. *Iohn Colichart* borne at Bains in Heinault Captaine of this Caſtle, was led away priſonner with 40. of his beſt ſouldiers. Among which was the Captaine of the forte of Iadines, named *Le Grand Gerard* and *La Loſſe*, of whome I ſpoke before Captaine of Vilargy, who was not put at all to any ranſome, but ſent backe ſhortly after to Meſieres, there to be puniſhed as a traytor. The D. of Neuers lodged within the Caſtle a companie of foote of the olde enſignes, and 50. harquebuſieres on horſeback. At their departure from this ſiege, each man began to reioyce, that he ſhould out of this grieuous and painefull deſert, and enter into Liege a countrie ſo pleaſant and delectable: taking their diſcent by the ports of Giuets the moſt renowned vpon the ryuer of Meuſe. But before I paſſe any further, I will not forget how as wel to render the Nauigation of this riuer which runneth all alongſt the countries of Liege, and Brabant eaſie and open vnto them, as to enforce the reſt of the ſmall Caſtles and little forts, alongſt, there was left there the Capitane *Salſede*, generall commiſſioner for all the victuals and munitions, with ſixe companies of French fanterie, and two Cannons. Who after that by force he had taken the Caſtle of Sumet, appertaining to the D. of Aſcot, he cleane abandoned that of Hurge, which appertained to *Barlemont*.

Valſimont the 4 lodging of the D. of Neuers armie.

Streame of Vouye.

The Caſtle of Beaurin ſummoned.

Beaurin Caſtle yeelded.

Cap. Salſede commiſsioner generall for victuals, conquered al the Caſtles a long the riuer.

As the Prince of La Roche Sur-yon burned all Artois and the borders about, without any reſiſtance at all made to his little armie, ſo the Conſtable hauing cauſed the bruite to be giuen out that his determination was to beſiege Auannes, ſo

farre as that the light cauallerie had more then once skirmiſhed before it as though they ment to view it, albeit it was well ſtrengthened with a Garriſon & other munitions, being notwithſtanding aduertiſed how Mariembourge had but a bare ordinarie Garriſon, and that ſmall, the moſt couertly that was poſsible, cauſed the Marſhall S. *Andre* to depart with the Suiſers, and ſome companies of French foote, aſsiſted with two or three thouſand horſe, and the moſt part of the artillerie, who made ſo good ſpeede, hauing all that night cleared the waies and Lanes, which the enemies had ſtopped, and hedged in. As the 23. of Iune, at ten of the clocke in the morning, he was come with all his troupes before Mariembourg. Whereat they within being altogether aſtoniſhed, and much more the night after when they vnderſtoode that the ſuccours which they attended were driuen backe, and no poſsibilitie for them to enter, yet to ſhew themſelues as men not diſmaied, they played infinitly with the Cannon, which for all that would not ſerue the turne, any whit at all to ſtaie theſe new come gueſts from beginning their approches and trenches. So as the next morrow the Conſtable being ariued with the reſt of the armie, and ſeeing the good beginning of this ſiege, to bring it to a better end, he cauſed the approches to bee continued with ſuch diligence, as the third day of the ſiege, hauing made fiue or ſixe Voleys of artillerie onely to breake the defences, a parley was requeſted by the beſiedged. In ſomme many of their Articles being refuſed, they condeſcended in the end to yeelde vp the place to the K. liues and goods ſaued, all ſauing armor, munition and artillerie, and *De Rinſart* remained priſoner with the Captaines and principals of the Cittie. Which being well ſtored with al munition of an ineſtimable price, was thus yeelded vp the 28. of Iune, 1554. Whereat the K. much reioyſing, ſhortly after departed towards Laon, ther to find againe his armie the laſt day of the month. The which in ſigne of ioye at his ariuall was pitched in order of battell, and the whole artillerie diſcharged, yeelding a maruellous report and eccho betweene the woodes and the rockes of the Ardennes, giuing notice to the reſt of the imperiall townes of the yeelding vp of this. Which in reſpect it was the rampart of the whole countrie was wel enough fortified. It had beene in former times a litle village where all aſſemblies for any great hunting ſtill met, in which Q. *Marie* tooke ſingular pleaſure. But for that ſhee found the ſeate thereof very proper and delectable, ſhee fell a building there ſparing nothing which was any waies requiſite to the beautie or fortification thereof, which ſhee would in farre better ſorte haue perfited, had not the K. taken it who not onely was ſtudious to finiſh what as yet was vnperfit, but better to fortifie and rampire it, then euer it was before: commaunding them of Mariembourg, to name it from thence forwardes Henriembourg.

Mariembourg taken by the French.

Now to the end to make the way more eaſie, and the better to be of diſcouerie, as farre as the little towne of Maubert-fontaine which was the next, they cauſed a little village called Rocroy to bee fortified, within which they lodged the Capitane *La Lande*, with his enſigne of 300. men on foote, the Capitane *Breuil* of Bretaigne with three companies of French ſtill remaining in Mariembourge. Shortly after *Genor* was ſent thither from Diſnan: hauing already beene gouernour of Metz, who receiued the King, order to remaine Leiutennant generall at Mariembourg, at the hands of the D. of Neuers. Who at his departure from Ardennes, a little after the taking of the Caſtle of Beaurin, had ſent the Harrowlde of Angouleſme, with his trompetor, to ſummon the Caſtle, and towne of Diſnan, and to know whether the inhabitants determined to continue in newtralitie ſuch as was accorded in the countrie of Leige, or if they would hold out, for and in the name of whome, of the Emperour

Rocroy a ſmall village between Maubert-fontaine and Mariembourg fortified for the ſafetie of the paſſage.

perour or the Biſhop of Liege. But in ſteade of yeelding an honeſt anſwere, or ſpeaking like a ſouldier, farre forgetting themſelues, they anſwered them that if they had in their hands the K. and the D. of Neuers harts and liuers, they would ſoone make a frycaſſe of them for their breakfaſt, pelting there with ſo many Harquebuſe ſhot at them, that they were compelled to returne with all ſpeede and deliuer their report. Their anſwere of Diſnan to the D. Harrowlde and trumpeter.

The D. of Neuers being come downe with his armie, as farre as the ports of Giuets the firſt day of Iuly, found that the Caſtle of Agimont not yet yeelded, ſtanding on this ſide the Meuſe a quarter of a league from the other Giuets, albeit it had beene already ſummoned. Notwithſtanding the ſame day hee made a number of his light Cauallerie to paſſe the water, with certaine companies of foote, to enuiron the Caſtle, attending the K. army which marched from Mariembourg of purpoſe to ioyne with them. Now as the vantgarde of the K. armie ariued, the footemen made ſemblance as though they would ſcale it, and giue the aſſault, which in the end turned to good earneſt, for the ſouldiers entred ſo farre and furiouſly in ſporte that they within could no longer ſuſtaine their aſſault. In ſuch ſort as they were compelled to acquite and abandon the defences, and to giue them entrance: ſo as being entred with furie, they put all to the ſword, that offred to make any reſiſtance, which was for al that no great number, nor men of any marke. And there was taken priſonner the Captaine of the Caſtle called *Eurard de la Marche*, owne ſonne to the Earle of Rochefort, Father to him who then liued, Lord of the place, and the moſt part of the reſt of the ſouldiers, were ſent away the morrow after. The whole armie remained on this ſide at Giuets, encamped for the moſt part betweene the borough and the Caſtle, in a long & ſpacious plane: and notwithſtanding that this great riuer made a ſeperation between the two armies, yet did not their kinſfolkes, friendes, neighbours, and companions faile continually to croſſe ouer to viſit and feaſt one another. The King himſelfe being moued with the good report which he had heard of the D. armie paſſed ouer in perſon to ſee it in battell on Wenſday the ſixt of that month, and found it in ſo good order, and equipage, that hee grew thereat much contented. Now there remained but a little forte called Caſteau Thierry which appertained to the Bayliſe of Namur, or elſe all round about was ſubiected to the K. obedience. Therefore there was ſent thither the ſame day a regiment of the French footemen, with artillerie, and ſome companies of horſe: but thoſe which kept it vnderſtanding what entertainment they had had at Agimont, neuer tarrying their comming quitte the place in good time; So was the Caſtle found emptie, and abandonned, but furniſhed with moſt faire moueables as was poſsible, and great quantitie of all ſorts of graine. Theſe two armies ſoiourned at the two Giuets ſix whole daies together, and the ſeuenth diſlodged: the Kinges feete kept on the way on this ſide the Meuſe, and the D. of Neuers for the difficultie of the waies, was faine to encampe that night in a vallie two leagues from Dinan, aboue which there was a Caſtle called Valuin, which was found emptie, and hee lodged in the baſe courte. The next morrow the two armies encamped aboute the Towne and Caſtle of Diſnan and Bouines. The artillerie being planted vpon the height of an hollow thorough which the high way paſſed which went to the plane aboue, battered Bouines ſo furiouſly vntill three of the clocke at afternone, that a breach being made at a portail, and within a Tower, the aſſault was therewith all giuen, and carried away with ſmall reſiſtance, being onely defended by them of the Towne it ſelfe, with whome it fared full ill for their labour: For vpon the firſt furie there was made a ſore ſlaughter, ſome thinking to ſaue themſelues leaped into the water: and yet for all that they coulde not eſcape death, the moſt part of them being ſlaine

The K. armie.

Bouines furiouſly battered and taken by aſſault.

ſlaine with Harquebuze ſhot, whilſt that they dipped to the bottome of the water like Duckes. The reſt albeit that they had croſſed the riuer, and ſo taken priſonners by the French, were afterwards hanged, and ſtrangled: for hauing ſo raſhly reſiſted and held out againſt the K. power. True it is that in the recompence of the faire warres which the Spaniards made vnto the French, at the taking of Teroenne, the K. pardoned and ſaued a number of their liues, which were retired into the great Tower which ſtoode aboue the Towne. Afterwards of his great & accuſtomed humanitie, he cauſed the women maidens, and young children to bee all ſaued, and gaue vnto them for their better ſafe conduct, a Harrowlde and a trumpetor. Now the verie ſame morning as the D. of Neuers hard by the Caſtle of Diſnan, would needes him ſelfe with *Iamets* goe neere to take the view, *Iamets* horſe next adioyning to his owne perſon was ſlaine with a Harquebuze a croc: himſelfe being warned there by, how ſuch cheefes of an armie ought not ſo venterouſly to expoſe themſelues to ſuch perill: for that day notwithſtanding the batterie was not begun, for that the artillerie came not time enough; but onely all the reſt of the day, many Cannons playde, to begin to breake downe the defences, and certaine Gabions, as well vpon the portaile, as at a little round Tower aboue the Towne, which greatly annoyed them: ſo as all that night was employed in making with al diligence the aproches and trenches, but not without great danger for the numerable ſhot, of artillerie & Harquebuſes a croc which played from the Caſtle, without any murther for all that, or loſſe of any perſon other then miſerable pyoners. The next morning this Caſtle was ſaluted with thertie great peeces of artillerie, fiftene on the D. ſide, and as many on the Kinges on the other ſide of the riuer which gaue all along the hollow, and euen within the verie Caſtle: ſo as a wall of Bricke which was the higheſt was perced thorough by day, they battered likewiſe in flancke, a great round Tower, at the corner of a core of lodging which looked towardes the North. On the Dukes ſide was battered a great round Tower, ſeated at the end of the ſame lodging, cleauing to the bulwarke of the portall: and this thundering continued without ceaſing day and night vntill Tueſday, about three of the clocke in the afternone, that theſe two Towers were rayſed and battered downe, and a breach made at the ende aboue this lodging about tenne pace long, notwithſtanding it was verie vneaſie to clyme, for that the Cannon could not faſten vpon the foote of the wall, being amaine Rocke. Ioynte, that they muſt be faine to creepe a Pikes length, and the aſcent was very ſlipperie, and vnſure vnder the ſouldiers feete, by reaſon of the earth and cement which continually fell vpon it. But for all this it was reſolued at the inſtant to giue the aſſault. And the Admirall led ſuch companies of French as were ordained thereto vnto the foote of the breach, praying and exhorting them with many faire, and gracious remonſtrances, to remember the immortall renowne, which the French had achieued for feates of armes thorough out the whole world: and of their dutie where with they ſtoode bounde for the faith and aſſurance which the K. repoſed in them, this ſpeech being ended, ſome Capitanes followed with their valianteſt ſouldiers, marched on, and with an aſſured gate aduanced forward to clime vp: the Capitane *Maugeron* being one of the firſt, ſo as they within eſteeming him to be followed hard, and that the French would of them ſelues ſtoupe, and creepe in, ſet fire of a trayne which they had prepared, which beeing quenched if the ſouldiers purſuing their enterpriſe had but aſſaied to enter the enemies could neuer haue held out longer, the walls hauing beene alreadie ſo ſhaken & broken with the artillerie, that it was vnpoſsible for them anie longer to endure. But if ſome of the French performed their part well, there were other which bee haued

Forts puniſhed for holding againſt the K. power.

Achiefe of an armie ought not to be to ventrous.

eud themſelues ſo coldly, that they haue left a very bad opinion of them. The Capitane *Saragoſe* being enſigne colonel went to it verie brauelie and was ſore hurt, ſo did the Capitanes *Gourdes*, *La Mole* and *Le Forte*, whoſe enſigne bearer called *Le Baſque* was there ſlaine, and flong downe from top to the bottome, and his enſigne thrice taken vp, they ſtill being caſt downe which tooke it vp, ſo as at laſt it remained in the hands of a Gaſcon ſouldier named *Fougaſſet*. The Admirall Colonel of al the French fanterie, ſeeing his ſouldiers thus to waxe coole, excuſing themſelues by the narrownes, and euill acceſſe to the breach, to giue them hart began a little more ſeuerely to exhort them, ſhewing vnto them, that if in the K. preſence they would make no better proofe of their hardines the good reputation which they had heretofore gotten, would turne them to a farre greater reproch, and a perpetuall infamie. The which he had no ſooner finiſhed, but the further to ſet them in a heate hee began firſt himſelfe, and after him the more to encourage them, *Monpeſat* (albeit he had no charge at all in their bands) ſeaſed vpon one of their enſignes, and brauely before them all carried it vp to the top, where he couered himſelfe behinde certaine quarters and ruines of the wall which was fallen downe; calling them and making ſigne with the enſigne that they ſhould follow him. It was impoſſible for all that, to make them take any further courage vnto them: whereby ſome Captaines before well eſteemed of were very ill thought of euer after, of whome ſome were diſgraded, caſt from their charge, declared villanes and vnable to beare armes in the face of the whole armie, which witneſſed their fault. As the night came on, ſo was the retreate ſounded. That day they of the Towne of Diſnan, yeelded themſelues at the mercy of the K. into the handes of the D. of Neuers: who forgetting their fooliſh and raſh wordes receiued them, and aſſured them of their liues, and that their Towne ſhould not be burned: to that ende the Capitaines *Duras*, and *Boiſſe*, were ſent with their companies of French fanterie: but albeit that theſe companies were lodged there for their aſſurance and ſafetie, yet could they not warrant them from the ſacke: for the Almanes of the new leauie, imagining that theſe companies had bene gotten in only to haue the ſacke among them, ranne thither vpon a huddle, and broke open the gates with hatches, crowes, and great beames: the reſt which had not the patience to tarrie, crept vp, and ſcalled the walles, leaping in, in a number of places, where they made a maruellous peece of worke: and not content with this, vnderſtanding how they had cauſed all the woemen and young children to retire with certaine Cittizens into the great Church, they gathered together in troupes before it. And after that they had by violence beaten downe the gates, and porches of the temple: notwithſtanding any reſiſtance made to them by the French which were within, they rauiſhed and trayned out the men, women, maidens, and young children: ſo as for that cauſe was rayſed a crueell medly betweene them and the French which would haue put them out. The which endured all that night and vntill the next morrow in the morning vntill the King ſent expreſſely to appeaſe this mutinie. And afterwards it was proclaimed thoroughout the whole armie, that euery man vpon paine of death ſhould deliuer vp the women of Diſnan: which he cauſed to be nouriſhed vntill their departure with his own prouiſion, albeit that the ſouldiers themſelues were in great neceſſitie. After that the French were retired from the aſſault, the artillerie began on freſh to batter the Caſtle, to make the breach greater & more eaſie, continuing the batterie all that night: while that they ſought other meanes to haue it by the fallings of the wall right againſt the breach making it more eaſie to clime. Notwithſtanding the 13. of Iuly about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning, they offred to parlie, and being admitted thereunto, there

came

came out firſt *de Floyon* gouernour of the Caſtle, and *Hamon* Captaine of the Almanes, who were conducted to the D. of Neuers tent: to whome hauing propoſed Articles, and it being reſolutely denied vnto them to carrie thence any weapon, artillerie, or enſigne, they agreed that they ſhould depart with ſworde and dagger, and ſome other trifling baggage. But *Iulian* the Capitane of the Spanniards, to keepe a kind of authoritie which that nation maketh it ſelfe much to be marked for in feates of armes, inſiſted with great perſwaſions that hee and his people might depart with their weapons: the which for all that the Conſtable would by no meanes graunt. Now while that they were reaſoning about this and ſundry other things, *Bourdillon*, and *de Rabaudanges* were ſecretly ſent to know, and conclude with the Spanniards whether they were willing to come foorth with like condition as the reſt: to which they moſt willingly conſented demaunding nothing but libertie. Wherefore the capitulation being brought backe to the Conſtable, ſigned, and accorded, was ſhewed to *Iulian*, who after the Spaniſh faſhion making great exclamation ſaid that he one of the chiefe and principall of all did not conſent nor approoue it: and required with great importunacie that he might be conueied backe againe to the Caſtle, which he vndertooke to keepe onely with his Spaniſh companies: the which of fauour was graunted vnto him, with proteſtation, that if he were taken by force, he ſhould hope for nothing but to be the firſt hanged at the gate. Whereupon by leaſure his choller was moderated: hauing occaſion to thinke rather of the danger wherein he ſtoode, then to ſhut himſelfe vp with his ſouldiers, which deſired nothing but comming forth one after an other: the K. being ſtill preſent, who tooke great pittie of them, the moſt part of them being ſo worne and tyred, as they looked like frighted bodies, and true Anatomies, thorough the paines and neceſsities which they had endured: the whole amounting to aboue 800. of all ſortes, and there dyed one another about eight ſcore, or two hundred. *Tauannes* his companie was appointed to conduct the reſt in ſafetie the way of Namur, and this Capitane *Iulian* was kept priſoner, not only for the aunſwere which he had made, but for an other more eſpeciall occaſion. This Caſtle was reputed amongſt one of the ſtrongeſt and faireſt houſes of the B. of Liege, with B. *Eurarde*, of the houſe of *La Marche*, vncle to *Iamets* then liuing, had cauſed to bee reedified, vpon the olde ruines, but farre more excellent and ſtrong then euer it was before: likewiſe ſundrie other as Hue, Franchemont, Stoquehan, Bouillon, and Floranges. It is ſcituate vpon an huge Rocke, which may be about & of circumference neere fower hundred paces, iſſuing from the ſide of a mountaine of great ſcope, vpon the riuer of Meuſe in forme ouall: vnacceſsible two waies, on the Towne ſide and on the riuers: verie vneaſie likewiſe on the ſide wher the breach was made, vpon the two fronts are two bulwarks, in halfe circles, or as they commonly ſay in forme of horſe-ſhooes, the one vieweth and defendeth al the plaine of the mountaine, ſeruing for a platforme, the other aboue the Towne and riuer is almoſt in the ſame ſorte, ſauing that it was not ſo high, and the vpper parte made of Bricke, no whit at all rampired. Within the Caſtle is a ſquare court of about fortie pace in Diamiter and widthe, inuironed with three great core of houſes, of a maruailous faire building and workemanſhip: propped vp vnderneath with great colomes, the moſt part guilt, ſpecled all with white and graye ſpots, of which was likewiſe all the foundations made, and the vpper part of Bricke. The vnder ſtorie was all inuironed with faire and long galeries and walkes: and aboue were many great romes proper and well fitted with Chambers and a Chappell taking light towards the Towne: without towardes the North ſtoode theſe two round Towers, which the

Cannon

Cannon ruined euen to the verie foundations: and below a courtaine or falſe braye flankered with Torions which was almoſt broken downe & battered. At the roote of this great Rocke all along the riuer ſtoode the towne, well builded & adorned with houſes, ſcituated moſt properly for the bringing of al kind of marchandiſe, eſpecially copper, braſſe, and all ſorte of ruſſet colours: on the other ſide of the riuer about 200. pace off ſtandeth the towne of Bouines which is not much leſſe then Diſnan, of the Countie of Namur, and it is found that in auncient time the two townes made warlike wars together. Diſnan holding the party of *La Marche* which was for France, and Bouines of Burgondie. Diſnan being a neuter town loſt her neutrality, for at the apetite of their B. vncle to the Emperor to ſubiect themſelues to one particular, who by violence (ſaid ſome) did vſurp the Biſhoppricke of Liege, frō the Abbot of Beaulieu to whom his ſaid vncle had reſigned it. Whereupon the humanity and ſweetnes of this Prince was much to be marked, who by no meanes would haue the towne of Diſnan burned as Bouines was, but had regard vnto the ſubiection which the Caſtle ſo much commanding ouer, alwaies had the towne in: & therefore in the moſt faire and ſtrongeſt part thereof, it was by his owne fault beaten downe and battered, for euer after to be an example, that neuter lands, & eſpecially of the Church ought not to be partiall or cleaue to any one more then another.

Whilſt that theſe two armies ſtaied about Bouines & Diſnā, the other of the Prince *de La Rocheſurion* burning al the country of Artois was ſundry daies skirmiſhed withall by a number of Flemmings which ſided & followed him continually to interrupt his purpoſe: whereof the Prince being aduertiſed, & of their courſes which they ſtill kept betweene Arras and Bapaume, came ſo fitly vpon thē that hauing wrapt them in vpon the way, he charged thē in ſuch ſort that there lay aboue 200. & of their principall chefetaines ther were brought away priſoners, *De Fama* gouernor of the Citadel of Cambray and his Leiutenant, *Varluſet* Capitane of the light horſe: ſo as if it had not bene for a good horſe vpō which *De Hauſimont* gouernor of Bapaume was moūted, he was in as great danger to haue borne them company. Two Cornets of their cauallery were there defeated & taken which the Prince ſent vnto the K. wherby he might be the more aſſured of the aduantage which he had ouer his enemies. The 15. day of the moneth many French marchants which by riuer had brought victuals to the campe, hauing ſold thē, and going back againe to Meſieres with their botes laden with booties, & certaine ſouldiers, and the Capitanes *Garragoſſe*, *Gourdes*, and *Du Mole* hurt in the former aſſaults, were reencountred by the Bourguignons not far frō Giuets, & conſtraining them to come abord, killed part and part, they carried away priſoners, among whom were theſe three captaines, to whom they made very faire war, & gracious entertainmēt, ſending thē away vpō their faith. At their departure thence vnderſtanding how at Giuets were certain Engliſh & Scottiſh companies pertaining to the French, they ſuddenly went to ſurpriſe thē, and conſtrained them to retire into a houſe tenable enough, but brought away fowerſcore and ſixe of their horſes.

Engliſh & Scotts take at the ports of Giuets by the Bourguignons.

The Emperor who as thē lay at Bruxelles neer enough, being aduertiſed of al this, and how the cōmon bruit of the camp went, that at their departure frō Diſnan they mēt to beſiege Namur, cauſed as many ſouldiers to be lodged ther as he eſtemed neceſſary, knowing it otherwiſe but meanely fortefied for any artificial fortification, and that as a great number of men were needful for the aſſailing of ſo great townes, ſo as great & careful diligence for their defence to be requiſite. Seing in like ſort all the cōmons of the plaine countrie ſo moued & out of hart as all was abandoned he ſent his nephew the D. of Sauoy for his Leiutenant general, with as many ſouldiers as he was

recouer, readily to emparke himſelfe in the towne ſide in a place called Giuelou, betweene the two riuers of Meuſe, & Sambre, wher he got together and aſſembled his army with extreme diligence: hauing ſent for ſuccours out of al places. As ſone as the Prince was fortefied in this place, he ſcattered his Cauallerie vpon the way where he thought the victuals would paſſe for the French, as wel to weaken thē and giue them occaſiō to retire, as to learne & know their determination cauſing a bruit to be ſowne, reported by ſpies and priſonners, that if they aduentured to march further, or to paſſe the riuer of Sambre to enter into Henault, he would preſent himſelfe a hed to giue thē battel. But the K. as not being ſo far entred into his enemies countrie to returne without paſſing further, hauing likewiſe left the way of Namur, ſtaied to paſſe ouer the riuer of Sambre, & to burne the countrie of Henault, whereby he might make proofe of the imperiall forces: frō whence ſuch being returned as went to view the places & way which the army muſt paſſe thorough, hauing ſent backe *Bourdillon* with his compānie to Meſieres to cauſe certain Bourgingnons to retire, which burned certaine villages about, the K. raiſed his army from this place the 16. of Iuly to continue his determination: knowing notwithſtanding the difficulty to recouer victuals, & how the enemie had gotten al within their ſtrong townes, & broken down al mils, he thought good to aduertiſe the whole companies, to make prouiſion of as much victuals as was poſſible, euen ſo farre as to lade their horſes with prouiſion: the D. of Neuers remaining vpon the Meuſe ſide, as wel to make the ſurplus of prouiſions to be diſtributed, as to tarrie the rayſure of the Caſtle of Diſnan, and of all the reſt of the ſmall fortes about, whence he departed the 18. day of that month, and went to finde the King at Storne a ſmall village, where the Lord of the place, as he was ready to goe to dinner, was ſurpriſed by the light horſe. The next morning, at their diſlodging, that was ſet on fire, and all the villages round about. Now as the armie lying betweene theſe two riuers there was no meanes honorably to retire, but by the iſſue of an happie combat, ſo already and reſolute for the ſhow, marched in battell ſtraight to this riuer. Their couriers notwithſtanding hauing giuen as farre as the brinkes of La Sambre, founde not ſo much as one ſole man to make them reſiſtance, and paſſed forwards freely ſo as the whole cauallerie followed after, then the ſanterie and men at armes without the loſſe of any one vallet, were it not by ſome other accident. Likewiſe the imperials not finding themſelues ſtrong enough as then, contained themſelues cloſe within their fort, and inſteede of going out to ſeeke them, they were ſhut in and fortefied with good trenches the beſt that was poſsible. Notwithſtanding that night there were certaine troupes of their cauallerie diſcouered, which preſently drew backe into the woodes, hauing perceiued a number of French companies, which were ready to accoſt them. So the poore popular people abuſed with the hope, which they imagined of the imperiall armie, were ſurpriſed within their houſes, with a mightie number of cattell, & other moueables, not without great pittie: all the plaine countrie being ſet on fire and extreamely ruined, eſpecially one little Towne called Forces, within the countie of Aſſebais. This night they encamped on this ſide the riuer in a Copice, where the whole armie kept cloſe and well vnited, perceiuing the imperials to be but one league and a halfe of. The twentie day of the moneth the French armie beganne to make her entrie ſo furiouſly within the countries of Hanault, that there was nothing but fire, cries, flightes, and all thinges pittifull to heare, but much more to ſee, without ſo much as one burrow daring to make reſiſtance. All the people flying away from the reencounter of this horrible furie, which continued vntill euentide, that they encamped in the village of Iumets, very famous for

The Emperours armie vnder the prince of Piemont.

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the two new forts which were there: frō one of which a number of imperials hauing bene aduanced thither to cut off the victuals from the army, had already giuē the ſlip at the bruit of the vauntcouriers. Theſe Caſtles were in the ſtrongeſt places ruined & raiſed. In this place the K. did an act worthie of a moſt Chriſtian Prince: for hauing beene told him by a guidon of the D. of Neuers company how a poore woman his hoſteſſe was deliuered of a faire ſonne, himſelfe would needs be godfather, carried it vnto the Font, & their cauſed the Cardinall of Lorraine to Baptiſe it by the name of *Henrie*, beſtowing certaine preſents of him: beſides that he made it be writtē ouer the houſe dore, to the end it might not be deſtroied nor ruined with the reſt. Thus is the houſe where the K. Chriſtned the child. This night the comte *Roquendolphe* with his piſtoliers, his regiment of Almanes, the D. of Bouillons companie, & two ſmall field peeces, vndertooke to goe ſurpriſe the little Towne of Niuelle, the firſt town of Brabant: notwithſtanding finding it better furniſhed with men of war then he ſuppoſed he returned without doing ought elſe then burning the ſuburbs and villages abouts: frō whence he broght away great booties. At their diſlodging thence the army drew ſtraight to Bains one of the principal townes of Hennault, leauing for all the waies behinde it nothing but flames of fire, ſmoke and all kind of calamitie: whome the D. of Sauoy ſtill followed with the imperiall army from lodging to lodging: giuen at their tayle as many alarums as he was able, to annoy and weaken thē, being of himſelf grieued enough to heare and ſee the plaints of the miſerable common people ſo deſtroyed & ruined: to whom he could giue no other comfort, but ſay that they ſtill fled before him, & he followed ſtil after to be reuenged of thē. An occaſiō that the ſame day they encamped about Bains wher they lightned far greater fires then the firſt, for that there were ſpoyled & conſumed to aſhes the moſt faire Caſtles and gentlemens houſes, which were poſsible to be builded. Among the reſt the moſt ſumtuous houſe of Marimont was ſet on fire, curiouſly builded for the ſingular pleaſure of Q. *Mary*, furniſhed with as many ſingularities as was poſſible to be imagined. An other excellent faire Caſtle, called Tragny was burned and the greateſt part ruined, where were found ſundry moueables and rich veſtements as well of men as women. The 22. of Iuly the Towne of Bains being ſummoned, and no waies willing to yeeld, was moſt furiouſly preſented with the Cannon, and in another manner of ſorte then when *D'Alegre* loſt his life there. Which hauing endured out ſixe volleyes of the Cannon, yeelded themſelues to the Kinges mercie, who for all that commaunded it to bee deſtroyed and burned, not forgetting his Caſtle of Foulembray and other Townes of Picardie, which Q. *Marie* had before cauſed to be burned & entirely ruined, at ſuch time as he was in Germanie. They did as much to a ſumtuous Caſtle which ſhe had newly cauſed to be built, repleniſhed with all exquiſite things as of ſundrie varieties of Marble, Tables, plate pictures, and emboſt ſtatues, colours of all ſortes, whereof notwithſtanding in ſmal ſpace was made great waſt & deſtruction. *De Bloſſe* who was gouernour thereof was brought away priſonner, with the chiefeſt of marke which were found both there and within the towne: the K. ſtill vſing all meekenes towards the women, young maidens & litle children, which he made be conducted & put in ſafty, by a Harrowld, & a trumpetor. Afterwards the ſame morning *de Giry* Leiutenāt of the D. of Neuers company, was ſent with 4. other companies of men at armes, to keepe ſcoute to thoſe, which ſet fire on the Caſtle of Reux, which the late maiſter therof had cauſed to be reedified, and better maſonned then euer it was, when it was firſt builded, beeing vowted from the bottome to the toppe: from thence they were at Bais ſur Bais a village: afterwards at a litle towne of Bauets, very anucient firſt builded by the Trojans, (as they of the country tell) which paſſed beyond the foreſt

An act of a moſt chriſtian K.

The imperial armie followeth the French from place to place.

Marimont a houſe of pleaſure to Q. Mar. burned.

of Mormant, calling it after the name of their Prince Bauo. At this time ſmally inhabited, but to ruine it the more fire was put in many places. The imperial armie ſtil followed thē very neere, being better ſtrengthned as well by the ſuccours of Almanes which the D. of Brunſwich brought, of 2000. Reiſtres, which they cal in France Piſtoliers, as for that all the Emperors Garriſons, which hee had diſtributed among the towns which he had left behind were retired thither. The which cauſed the French to march in better order, & cloſer then before: as alwaies ready to fight, frō one place to another, for doubt of the enemy, being very vigilant, ſubtil & couragious, wher he could ſpie any aduantage to aſſaile thē: whereat the Conſtable well aduiſing, to ſupport the charges, & enterpriſes, which the enemie might giue vpō their skirts, ordinarily remained there with the vauward, and diſlodged euer laſt. Thus the alarums redoubled at their departure thence, hauing as it were couped thēſelues in betwene ſix great Towns of their enemies to wit Mons in Haynault, Auanes, Landrecy, Lequeſnoy, Valenciennes, & Cambray, and the imperiall armie which was at their heeles, & had aſſailed them as by a diſpaire had not been the good conduct of their chefes the imperials hauing aduentred ſo far as in clere day to force their whatch, after they had ſurpriſed one of the ſentinels of *Tauannes* his company: notwithſtāding not daring to aduenture further, as ſone as they were perceiued, they were driuen in as farre as Lequeſnoy. Now this night their light cauallery skirmiſhed long, & with lucke enough, which was a cauſe to make thē forbeare, & take ſom reſt the ſurplus of that night. Hauing then frō Villie encamped at Souleine, and frō thence at the burrowes & Caſtle of Gommigny which they burned, they marched forward the 24. of the month, whē as their enemies as it were deſperate, in ſeing their country burned, deſtroied & ſacked by thē, without any doubt of being followed, or feare of being famiſhed, propoſed to giue thē a charge, taking vantage of the raynie & miſty weather: knowing likewiſe that they had two reaſonable bad riuers, to paſſe which were ſwelled that night where they hoped to delay thē and put thē in ſuch dioder, as they would haue them at deuotion hauing all their own garriſons ioyned together. Therefore they deuided into two troupes about 4000. of the beſt horſe they had, laying part of thē in ambuſh within the woods vpon the way, & part of them within certaine villages at hand according as they might moſt cōmodiouſly ſuſtaine one another, the D. of Sauoy remaining behind with other 4000 horſe & ſome footmen, hauing belaid the field with 4. or 5. hūdred couriers to entiſe forth their light horſe: wher by they being firſt diſcouered by the D. *D'Aumale*, it was thought fit to ſend to the Marſhall S. Andre', who remained at their taile with two regiments of men at armes to know if it were beſt to charge thē: who ſent back word that he was not of that opiniō, fearing they had a greter company. Wherefore *Paul Baptiſta*, & the capitane *Lanque* were ſent to view them more neere: who made report each one of his ſide that they had deſcried two other troupes of 2000. horſe a peece which anon after as ſoone as the wether grew clearer, diſcouered thēſelues at ful, & ſo neere as they attacked skirmiſh with the light cauallery of the French hard by the camp, without ſetting, or giuing in earneſt vpon any of the other ranks of cauallery, and men at armes: which made thē hedlong enough, & in their view retired and paſſed this laſt riuer: afterwards they returned without carrying the honour to haue had any aduantage at all ouer them. The regiment of the Duke of Neuers was ſent another way, where certaine of their ſcoutes were deſcated, which brought great quantitie of baggage, but parte thereof was againe reſkewed. Afterwardes they encamped that night in a village, which the yeere before had beene burned called Vielle. The ſame day a trumpetour which the Duke of Neuers had ſent to the campe, called *La Capelle*, to vnderſtand what was become of

The imperials enterpriſes vpon the French armie

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a man at armes of his company, returned almoſt al naked, & ſtript by ſome ſouldiers of the enemies, ſmally experiēced in feates of war. But at the inſtant he was ſent backe againe in the ſame eſtate, with a trumpetor, who was charged by the K. to tel the D. of Sauoy, the Emperors Leiutenant general, that if hereafter they vſed any more the like faſhions, & al the priueledges & liberties of war ſhold be thus aboliſhed, he wold do the like at his next ſiege. Which being vnderſtood by this gentle Prince, to ſhew how ſore he was diſpleaſed therat, he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made throughout his whole campe, for thoſe as had cōmitted ſo baſe and lewd an act, to haue thē puniſhed in example: ſo as hauing recouered the trumpetors clothes & horſe with recōpence for ſuch other things as had beene taken frō him, he cauſed him to be ſafely cōueied backe by one of his owne. Now for that ſome of the imperials had cauſed the bruite to run, how that the French did flie before thē, & that if they woulde but ſtay 24. howers, the Prince ſhold giue thē battel, they anſwered, that they ſaw no cauſe to be ſo brag, nor ſo lightly to vſurp ſuch glory, occaſion of cōbat hauing already beene often enough preſented vnto them if they themſelues had liſted. Notwithſtanding if the Prince had ſo great deſire thereto as he made ſhew for, he aſſured them on the K. behalfe, that he would ſtay full 24. howers & no more, or if he would come find him out neer Cambray, he did aſſure him that would tarry for him 8. daies together, wher nothing ſhould be refuſed him. But whilſt they ſought out the moſt cōmodious places to lodge their battellons & men at armes, the imperials in the end retired to their firſt lodgings neere to Bauets. An occaſion that at their departure thence the French with one march got as far as Crauecœur neere Cambray, where the enemies had determined to fortefie and repaire the Caſtle, hauing already begun to make certaine trenches & conduits to taſt the water, purpoſing there to lay their foundations which the ſame day being the 26. of Iuly, their pioners began to raiſe; where the firſt wound of the miſerable Cambreſius was renued, who had already ſet vp & builded ſome little cottages, only to keepe thēſelues dry: imagining that a long time there would not ſo great misfortune befal them, hauing according to their habilitie againe ſowed part of their fields, to haue wherwith all to nouriſh, and keepe themſelues from famine: ſo as the richer ſort, & glad to that they were with their beſt moueables retired within the ſtrong townes, were not exempt out of al theſe loſſes & aduerſities: for whē the tennant is poore & afflicted, the Lord fareth neuer a whit of ought the better. Now whilſt that in the plain countrie they made waſt of Corne alredy ripe, & ready to be reaped, many braue ſalies and skirmiſhes dayly fel out between them of Cambray & the French: the Citadel ſtil troubling & darkning the aire with ſhot of Cānon, which lighted only among the worſt ſort, without ſlaying of any perſon of renowne: which they did only by al meanes poſſible, ſeeking to hinder the loſſe & ruine of their fruits, being notwithſtanding often enough repelled and driuen into their owne gates, ſo as theſe bickerings continued for the ſpace of 8. daies, whilſt that the French lay ther encamped. The imperiall armie in the meane time was pitched and fortefied in a place called Arçon betweene Cambray, Le Queſnoy, & Valeciennes vpon the little riuer of Montet, which commeth towards the Caſtle of Cambreſy, & a little lower falleth into Leaſcau, ſtill continuing their courſes to cut off the waies: which the Prince *De La Roche Sur-yon* well perceiuing came thither, incorporating his armie with the K. which hee ſuccoured with great quantitie of victuals, whereof they ſtoode in great want and neceſsitie.

In this time was the marriage concluded betweene *Philip* of Auſtria, and *Mary* of England, though with much more honor to the Engliſh, then to the Spanniards: ha-

Marriage of Philip of Austria & Mary Q. of England.

uing taken from him by the contract of marriage, many commodities which ordinarily are proper and incident vnto a husband, yea so farre as to denie vnto him the curtesie of England which carrieth. That a Queene enheritrice to England, comming to be married to a Prince stranger, and afterwards dying, the husband shoulde enioy such goods as appertained vnto her during his life, though no heires at al were issued by marriage: wherein likewise may be very well noted the power of the estates and Parliament of England, ouer the disposition whether liuing or testamentarie of their Prince. This marriage notwithstanding, though very honorable to their nation, yet stucke sore in the minds of many Lords and other of the countrie as well for the displeasure which they tooke in that they were to be commaunded by a stranger, as for the change of Religion and pollicie, already as it were growne olde and setled in the harts of many: so as with a full resolution to hinder the same, and to set vp *Iane* of Suffolke as Queene, they rose in armes vnder *Henrie* of Suffolke, *Thomas Wyat* and sundrie other as well in Cornewale as the North countrie. *Wyat* vndertooke to bring his men straight to London chiefe Citie of the Realme, hoping to draw the Londoners vnto him vnder a pretext of the countries libertie, & hinderance of the alliance with a stranger. The Q. on the other side hauing leuied a great number of men caused the Duke to flie to Warwicke, from whence seeking to escape into Fraunce, hee was apprehended and brought to London by the Earle of Huntington, who marched against *Wyat*, gathering men out of the Dutchie of Norfolke, the Duke whereof being taken prisonner by *Wyat*, in no case would be perswaded to combat with this partie, but afterwards being released, hee reuealed vnto the Q. all the enterprise of *Wyat* and his partners: with whome stoode likewise suspected and kept as prisonner, *Elizabeth* daughter to *Henry* and *Anne Boulen*. *Wyat* notwithstanding being arriued at London was much astonied. But the Queene though with small force, hauing publikely to all men rendred the cause, which moued her to take the Spanniard to her husband, and how that the countrie should there by receiue much more good, then by her alone, or any other English Prince: besides, how she would loose nothing of her owne, nor any waies diminish the libertie of her subiectes, encouraged them so farre as *Wyat* cleane out of hope of entring the Cittie, and seeking to retire into Kent, being pursued was defeated by the Earle of Penbrooke: afterwards brought to London, within short space, both the D. of Suffolke and himselfe, had their heads cut off, being not long after followed by *Iane* of Suffolke and her husband, for not hauing refused, the vnfortunate Crowne which was offred vnto them. Thus began the marriage of *Marie*, with th'effusion of her subiectes bloud, as almost all the rest of her Raigne consumed in diuision: and full of murther and punishments of the most notable personages of her Realme. These troubles being appeased the Prince of Spaine arriued about the end of Iuly in the Ile of Wight: from whence being honorably conducted by my L. Paget and other, entring afterwards further in to England, followed by the D. of *Alua*, Earles of Padille, Rigomes, & Aiguemont, the Admiral of Castile, and Marquis of Langnillare, the mariage was solemnised the 23. of Iuly at Winchester, wher Masse being finished, the Emperors deputies declared how in fauour of that marriage, his Maiestie did giue vnto his sonne the realme of Naples, Sicilie, and Ierusalem, the Dutchies of Milan, Burgondie, Brabant, the Earledomes of Aspur, Flanders, and Tiroll.

Courtesie of England.

Iane of Suffolke and her husband with sundry other beheadded at London.

Henrie in this meane while, cõtinuing stil ready & vpon his guard caused in the great plain betwene Cræuecæur and Cambray a generall muster to be made of al his men at armes and French Cauellerie, about the month of Iuly whilst that his footmen &

cariadges

cariadges had gained the aduantage, and passed the Riuer, for some companies of light horse being sent forth for watch and scoutes, returned word back how that they had discouered neere hand to a foure or fiue hundred horse, and a great number of foote, making shew as though the Emperours Campe marched, keeping their way as though they went directlye to Cambray, whereof they were no sooner aduertised, then likewise ready, with resolution rather to fight it out in the fielde, then to permit or giue them leaue to fortifie so neere vnto them, especially with the helpe and succour of so great a Towne, whereby as much mischeefe might happen vnto them as did vnto the Protestants of Germanie before Ingolstat, whereupon the D. *D'Aumale* remounted suddenly on horseback with the light Cauallerie, the better to be assured of the truth, and found how the imperial army was indeed remoued with full determination to come and encampe neer Cambray, but that the Emperor knowing how they were not departed thence, fearing to be enforced to fight to his great disaduantage, lodged in another place neere vnto the first, called Neuuille, which hee caused soddenly to be renforced with trenches on that side, which was not flancked to the riuer.

This night at sundry times were sent out some companies of French Cauallerye, and of the Admirals men at armes to keepe them in continuall alarmes within their forte, vntill the break of day next morning, that the Constable with the most parte of the men at armes of his vantguarde, and two Regimentes of French Fanterie went neere to view and see if there were any meanes to force them within their forte, or to entice and giue them occasion to come forth. But he found that very hard, for that this place was two waies enclosed with the riuer, and on the other sides wel fortified and trenched in, assuring himselfe by the discourse of naturall reason, and examples past, that for the finalnes of resolution which would be had therin, he could not carry away more honor and profite, then hee had done at other times, and in his yong yeeres at La Bicoque a simple Country house, of lesse strength then the place where the Marquesse of Gnast defeated all the fury of the French, Zuizers, and other partakers of the Flower de luce. True it is that in his returne hee espyed some olde Towers where sundrye of the enemyes were lodged on this side their Campe, as well to keepe scoute, as to endamage the fouragers: whereupon it was concluded that the Cannon should be brought thither the same day to the battrie; by this meanes the rather to prouoke the Emperour to come forth to guarde and defende them. But the imperialls cleane acquited them retiring within their fort, Notwithstanding to giue all occasions which might bee, as also doubting the descent of the English into the countrie of Boulonnois, the marriage hauing beene alreadie solemnized betweene the K. of Spaine, and their Queene, Henry determined to make his armie vnto those partes. where accordyng as the commoditie presented it selfe, he might besiege on of his enemies holdes, to the end that if hee would put himselfe into the fielde and striue to rescue it, the Emperour might bee thereby constrained to fight. Hauing then sojourned certaine daies at Creuecur neare to Cambray, the second of August hee departed, and the same day went to encampe at Ondrecourt nere the Castelet, whereof the Emperour being aduertised, raised his armie from Neuuille, and taking his way towards Arras, pitched at Marteau. The day after the French were at Mornencourt, two leagues from Peronne, and the next morrow passed before Bapalme saluted with infinite shot of Cannon. Notwithstanding the armie made no long aboade there through the discommodity which they founde in not being able to recouer water: but onlie the light horse skirmished sometime before that place

whilest

whileſt that the whole army deſcended to encampe that night all along the little Riuer vnderneath Mirammont; whence they departed the next daye, keeping theyr way all along the borders of the Countie of Artois, where they ſawe a wonderfull waſte which the Prince of Roche Sur-yon his army had made ſundrye faire Caſtles and Villages as yet ſmoaking, the Corne and fruites of the earth clean deſtroyed and abandoned, which are the miſeries and calamities that the warres and diſſentions betweene Princes bring to poore people. That night being the 5. of Auguſt, they encamped Paz in Artois, where ſome cauallerie of the Garriſon of Arras keeping alongſt the woods and couered cuntry, vndertook to free aboue vpon the hinder part, but being encountered with their Engliſh and Scottiſh Cauallery, were defeated, and the moſt parte of their Souldiers diſmounted, and other brought away priſonners, whereby the loſſe of Giuettes was now recompenced. There they made great waſte, and continued it as farre as the abbey of Cercamp, where the County of S. Poul beginneth; there they ſoiourned two dayes for many reaſons, eſpeciallye for that they had reſolued to beſiege the Caſtle of Renty. The D. of Vendoſme departed thence with a good number of Cauallerie and foote, training ſome artillerie to goe before to ſummon it; alſo to knowe whether any bodye were leſte within Fauguemberg, which he purpoſed to raze, with all other ſmall fortes adioyning; to the end likewiſe that he might be able to bring greater ſtore of artillerie, that which he had there being partly homecomed, partly cracked and diſmounted, much powder and munition hauing beene ſpent before the Townes and Caſtles which they had taken: the eight of Auguſt they trauerſed all the Countye of S. Poul, leauing Dorlan and Hedin on the left hand, and Terroanne on the right, to encampe the night following at Fruges, whence that night the Caſtle of Renty was againe ſummoned, and anſwere made by the Captaine, that he would neuer yeelde it vp, aſſuring himſelf of the ſuccours which the Emperour would bring vnto him; who being informed of the K. comming thither, as well in reſpect that forte was very preiudiciall to the County of Boulonnois, as to aſſay if they would hazard to fight with him and driue him out of the Countrie, was departed from Arras, where hee had muſtered all his forces, with which he approched as neere vnto the King as Terroanne on the Friday at night. But the French knowing his intent to be to keepe on the other ſide of the Riuer, a place ſtrong by reaſon of the length & bredth of the wods which ſtretched very far into the country, whereby ſuccors might come vnto him as well of victuals as Souldiers, and all other ſorts of munitions, and being there fortified, his preſence would eaſily ſuccour and reskew the Caſtle with whatſoeuer ſhould be needfull, yea of all ſides readye to cutte of and annoye the beſiegers, aduiſed for the more ſure, that the Conſtable with the Vantgarde ſhould paſſe into that part, and fortefie himſelfe with trenches, to bemeete with and preuent all occaſions of ſurpriſe; and to cut of the way to any ſuccours which might be ſent vnto the Caſtle, bridges and boates were made vpon the little Riuer, whereby the two Campes might the more eaſily ſuccour one another. Afterwards all the light cauallerie being encamped at Fauquemberge, this caſtle remained ſo penned in, as there was not one man able to enter in without being diſcouered; notwithſtanding the better to aſcertaine the Emperour of this ſiege, they cauſed to be planted on the toppe of a mountain on Montereul ſide foure Culuerins, to begin to batter theſe defences, whileſt they aduanced forward ſuch great peeces as were taken and brought from the Townes aboue the Riuer of Somme, which came thither ſomewhat late, and only the Saterday at night, but to make amends to this ſloath, they made the approches with ſuch ſpeede, as all was ſeene in battery

The K. army before Renty and his deſeines.

The Emperour before Renty & his diſſeines.

batterie by the next morrowe, notwithſtanding any ſhower of Harquebuze ſhotte, which they were able to ſend out of the Caſtle, whence there was hurte the Captaine *Vauquedemars*, one of the moſt ancienteſt and experimented Captaines of the olde Enſignes, the which redoubled vnto the Emperour his doubt and feare of the place, ſeeing himſelfe without all meanes or hope to be able ſo much as to cauſe one man to enter in: but in the end the greefe and ſhame which hee conceaued, to ſuffer his Country ſo to be deſtroyed, and before his eyes, and that this place ſhould be taken and enforced, ſo mingled themſelues together, that making himſelfe an enemy to his feare, he reſolued to trye fortune, and to doe his beſt whatſoeuer ſhould enſue thereon to ſuccour it. Thereupon the ſame day he came to encampe hard by the French, but forall that the artillery neuer ceaſed moſt furiouſlye to batter the Caſtle, and that in two places, to wit, on the Conſtables ſide and on the Kinges, the artillerie being aduanced, and planted on the very brinke of the ditch, which battered a bulwarke on the left hand, and a round tower within the dungeon on the right; they ſhot likewiſe from the mountaine a little below the Zuizers Campe, with foure culuerins to break the defences, and you may not doubt but in ſhort time this caſtle was as violently battered and cannoned, as any other place, ſo as the Emperour determined as the beſt way to raiſe them as yet to approche neerer, and ſo lodged on the top, on the plaine of a mountaine, betweene a little Village called Marque and Fauquemberg, where there was but one little Valley of an hundred and fiftye pace large, and at the leaſt as ſteepe, which deuided the two armies, and the valley on the other ſide, wher the riuer runneth which maketh a mariſh, and ouerfloweth al round about the Caſtle on the right hand. Beſides a wood on the left betweene the Spaniard and the French, aboue Fauquemberg, called the wood William, which the Emperor thought good to ſeaſe vpon to hinder their giuing of the aſſaulte, and to compell them by ſhot of Cannon into their campe, to diſlodge and quit the place. Now had the D. of Guiſe which commaunded in the battaile watched all that night, as alſo the Prince of Ferrara, the D. of Neuers, the Admirall, the Marſhall *de S. Andre*, and other, aſſuring themſelues that the enemye would not faile to ſpye out the wood to lodge in, and therefore was there ſet about 300. Harquebuſiers in ambuſh, within certaine little caues, and ſome corſelets which ſtoode plaine to be diſcouered, to the end the enemies firſt addreſſing themſelues to fight with them, might be encloſed in, the eaſier to be defeated by the Harquebuziers: and ſo a little after at the point of day, the ſcouts reported how they had heard a great noiſe, and deſcried certain matches of Harquebuziers, the which himſelfe afterwardes perceiuing, forbad them to diſcouer themſelues, but to tarrie vntill they might be ſure, and vpon that went back into the corps de gnet, which was retyred in the plaine towardes the Campe. The Imperials ſtill marched forward within the wood, according to the reporte of ſome couriers, which they ſtill ſent before, and perceiuing nothing, went ſo far in that they found themſelues encloſed within this ambuſh, not as yet diſcouered: wherefore the French ſuddenly all at one inſtant diſcharged ſo hottely on them, that they remained in the end ſo aſtonied and beaten, as in ſeeing a number hurt, they began to flye and turne their backes, glad that the day was no further forwardes, and that the weather was miſtye. Now from the beginning of the daye the batterye was continued more furious then before, ſo as in a ſhorte ſpace the breaches in euery place grewe reaſonable ready to giue the aſſaulte: whereof the Emperour being aduertiſed, hee was ſo angry, as the very ſame day being the 13. of Auguſt, about noone he made a volley of artillerie to be diſcharged, to giue them warning within that they ſhould be of courage

The Emperours and K. Henries deſſeines before Reiny.

rage, and that their ſuccours were at hand. Afterwardes hauing concluded to giue battaile, (againſt the aduice of the principall of his councell) he cauſed all his campe to be ſet in order, but he reſolued firſt to gaine the wood, knowing the importance thereof, and at all hazards to chaſe away the French. Therefore hauing choſen out of all his companies of foote about three or foure thouſand Harquebuziers of the beſt experienced, ſome corſelettes, and Pikemen to ſupporte them, and about foure thouſand horſe, with foure fielde peeces, carried vpon foure wheeles, ready to turne them vpon any hand, (whereby they were afterward called the Emperours Piſtols) he cauſed them all to march right into the wood, the light Cauallerie vnder the conduct of the Duke of Sauoy, and the Harquebuziers vnder *Dom-Ferrant de Gonzague*. All along the Glade of the wood in deſcending towardes Fauquemberg marched a battaile of Almanes, ledde by the Count *Iohn* of Naiſſau, and the Marſhal of Cleues, on whoſe flancke marched a troupe of Reiſtres of about eighteene hundred or two thouſand horſe, vnder the conduct of the Count *Vulfenfort*, who promiſed the Emperour to march that day vpon the bellye of all the Kinges men at armes; followed not farre of with a number of light cauallerie, of about one thouſand or twelue hundred horſe, with foure fielde peeces more. The Harquebuziers then being entred into the wood, encountred with the three hundred French, as freſh and with as good a will to recharge them as they had done at the firſt. And thereupon grew faire and hot skirmiſhes. Now albeit that the Imperials arriued there in farre greater number, yet they behaued themſelues ſo valiantly that they kept them a long time back, ſo as many remained on eche ſide as well dead as hurt, and taken priſonners: among other of the French, the Captaine *Fort*, and his Lieutenant *Courcelles*. Hereupon the Duke of Guiſe, who from the beginning had vndertaken the defence of this wood, and by his preſence animated and ſeemed to grace theſe martiall actions, hauing carefully conſidered of the whole deſſein of the Imperialles, aduiſed the King that by their countenance and fury wherewith they went to the combate, hee verily thought that that day ſhould not paſſe without a battaile. The King then which was in the plaine on this ſide the wood, about 5000. pace in length, and 2000. in breadth, cauſed his battailes of foote to be put in order, to ſcituate them in a place commoudious and eaſie to combate with the men at armes, becauſe that place was vnproper for them both together, as by the aduice of the Conſtable and ſundry other Princes and Captaynes, he had the day before perceaued. Notwithſtãding for the better countenance and to make head to the enemy, there was lodged both the one and the other as commodiouſlye as could be; the firſt battell of foote were French, the ſecond Almanes, the third Zuizers, which followed one another with Regiments of men at armes ordained for their flancke on their right hand. And for as much as on the lefte there was a little Valley, which as well from the quarter of the Zuizers towards Fauquemberg, as towards the wood, widening made a glade eaſie and commodious enough, as wel to lodge foote as horſe, in the opening of that plaine they ſet the moſt parte of the reſt of the Regimentes of men at armes for the other flancke. And right before towards Fauquemberg was the D. *D'aumale* with all the light Cauallerie, and certaine Harquebuziers on foote to fight, without keeping any order, to the end they might giue notice if the enemy ſhould come that way. And in the mean ſpace the Duke of Guiſe not being able readily to haue the K. anſwere vpon ſuch occurrents, being likewiſe no leſſe curious to draw the enemie into the place moſt aduantagious for himſelfe, then fearefull of the loſſe of the three hundred Harquebuziers in the wood, in the end reſolued to make them retire from place to place, through the trauerſes of the

The Imperial army to giue battaile to the French.

The French army represented before Renty to giue battaile.

the wood, euer refreſhing them with ſome companies of Cauallery, which notwithſtanding ſo encreaſed the imperials courage, as aſſuring themſelues of victorye, they cauſed their battailes of Alamanes to march with al diligence which alwaies flankred them on the rightſide, as they ſawe their harquebuſiers haue aduauntage ouer the French. And euen then *Don-Ferrant* ſent word vnto the Emperour that he ſhould haſten the reſt of his army, for the Vantgarde of the French ſaid he was already ſore ſhakened, ready to ſet themſelues in diſorder: the which the Emperour did, and his army paſſed all along the Valley aboue, and at one of the corners of the wood himſelfe tarried, to be partaker of the pleaſure or annoy of the good or bad which ſhould fall out: it was then as the K. anſwere came to the D. of Guiſe, that if occaſion offred it ſelfe to receaue battaile, he ſhould not refuſe it; that he would come himſelfe thither in perſon with as good a will to fight, as the moſt valiant of his whole army. Then the Duke of Guiſe went back to his Regiment in the ſight and face of all vpon the plaine towards Fauquéberg; where of a famous warrier, gratious notwithſtanding and with a ſmiling countenance, hee vſed ſome words, as well to aduertiſe the Gentlemen, of the faire occaſion which that day was offred to attaine honour, as to encourage thoſe which might haue any neede; and ſhewed them all in generall, how the day was come wherein God preſented vnto them (in doing ſeruice to their Princes and encreaſing their honor and particular reputation) the matter and true ſubiect, to make themſelues for euer to be redoubted and feared of all the nations of the worlde, whereof the K. aſſured himſelfe ſo farre, as he would houour this glorious victory with his owne preſence, which indeed encouraged them in ſuch ſorte, as hauing called vpon the name of God, and recómended their ſoules into his hands, euery man prepared himſelfe well and faithfully to perfourme his dutie. In the mean time the Conſtable paſſed ouer the riuer towards the Duke with a Regiment of the Captaine *Glamay* his footmen, who cauſed the firſt order a little to be altered; and retired the battaile of Zuizers towards Renty, who according to their ancient cuſtome, ſent vnto the King to demaund ſome men at armes to ſupporte them, but the K. anſwered them, how himſelfe would liue and dye with them, and that he ſo farre aſſured himſelfe of their promiſe and good will, that he determined no whit to abandon them, reſolute to ſhew vnto them, how as well in life, as point of death, if it were offred he would honour them as his colleagues and faithfull freends both to himſelfe and his kingdome: whereat they were ſo ſtirred vp, as there was no other intention among them, but to fight valiantlye for his ſeruice. Likewiſe as a teſtimonye of the pleaſure which the King receiued therein, he did that which I will ſhew you in another place. As all this was thus a handling, the Imperials were in ſuch ſort already advanced vpon the French, as they had recoyled them, and driuen thē out of the wood ſo farre, as their harquebuziers began to come forth, and ſhew themſelues in front of the firſt battail of the French, ready to ioyne with them, pelting at them with a continuall and maruellous noyſe of Harquebuze ſhot all along the glade. The Imperial battaile ſupported with Piſtoliers and caullerie, was aproched with one hundred pace of the French, and there remained nothing but to charge, at ſuch time as the D. of Guiſe gaue a ſigne to the D. of Nemours, to charge with his regiment of light Caullerie vpon one of the corners of the Piſtoliers, and vpon the other hee ſet the Guidon of his owne company, and *Tauannes* to ſcoure on their flancke, whereupon there began a moſt ſore and furious combat; but the French were in the end valiantly put backe, and there was ſlaine the yong Baron of Curton, *Randan* ſore hurte, and his Lieutenant *D'Amanzay* dead, the Cornet of *Auannes* ſore hurt, and his horſe ſlaine

The D. of Guiſes ſpeech to the gentlemen of his company.

The K. anſwere to the Zuizers.

ſlaine vnder him, *Forges* Guidon of the company of *Tauannes* ſlaine, the Vicecount *D'Auchy* Guidon of the Duke of Guiſes ſore hurt, and ſundry valiant men out of all the companies, as the Sonne of *Pied-pape*, yong *Iouy*, *Bourdilly*, yong *Branches*, and many others; whoſe death, hurtes, and retreates gaue ſuch hart to the Imperialles ſo well to hope, as they already encouraged one another, as hauing gained an entire victory: whereupon the Duke of Guiſe and *Tauannes*, hauing aſſembled their troupes together againe, the which the D. *D'Aumalle* with all the light Cauallerie went to ioyne, began with one fronte ſo furiouſly to charge vpon the Imperials, as they opened, and threw downe the Piſtoliers of Vuluenfort ſo rudelye, as they themſelues brake the battaile of their Almanes to retire, who might beſt, whileſt that the Duke of Neuers who had his Regiment placed along the glade towards Ranty, paſſed betweene the battaile of the Almanes and the French, to charge in a heape vpon all the Spaniſh Harquebuzerie, which by fauour of their cauallerie was alreadye come out of the wood, which they perfourmed ſo couragiouſly, and with ſuch violence, as they were all ouerthrowne and put to flight; yea in ſuch diſorder as they ſuddenly turned their back, to eſcape and get into the wood, where there were taken and razed ſeuenteene Enſignes of footmen, fiue Cornets of horſe, and foure fielde peeces which they found cleane abandoned all along the glade. The Admirall then, who was the firſt which alighted before the battaile of the French, cauſed a number of Souldiers to leaue their rankes ſtill to follow the victory, who entring within the wood at the beginning made a great ſlaughter of their enemies, ridding all ſuch as they met of their miſerable liues, by the cruell edge of their ſworde. There were the Emperours Piſtols found and brought vnto the King, whileſt that the companies of men at armes purſued the victorie all along the glade and borders of the wood, eſpecially the light Cauallerie and *Tauannes* his company, which deſcended downe into the bottome of the valley, where was likewiſe defeated a great number of thoſe which were come downe out of the wood, hoping to gaine their Campe. The reſt of the troupes tarried vpon the top of the valley, vpon which they ſtraightwaies made the Emperours artillerie to playe, which remained on the other borde his ſide, whereby his people might ſomewhat the more fauourablye retreate. But to anſwere him, the French was as ſoon leuelled againſt the corner of the wood, which made his quickly recoyle backe, the battailes of the footmen which were already come together vpon this top in the plaine, ſtill attending what might further enſue. During this time the Emperor cauſed his Campe with all diligence to be razed, trenched and fortified: doubting of a more hotte purſute. But the night comming on, was an occaſion to the French to paſſe the reſt of the time in peace, and to content themſelues with the happy iſſue of this reencounter. Now for that the companies of the men at armes of the D. of Guiſe, Neuers, Bourdillon, and *Tauannes*, were the firſt which fought, and moſt hotly purſued their enemies, the King was ſo highly contented therwith, as he Knighted the cheefe Captaines and principall members thereof. Among the reſt *Tauannes* whome hee greatlye honoured, and gaue vnto him the order which he wore about his owne neck, vſing towards the reſt great liberalitie, eſpecially towards thoſe as preſented vnto him either Enſignes, Cornets, or artillerie, which they had taken or found abandoned. After the encounter the French Captaines viewed ouer their bandes, to know thoſe which had beene ſlaine or hurt, where there were found of dead about two hundred or twelue ſcore: but the Emperour loſt there thriſe as manye men: for the charge and onſet of the French was at the firſt ſo furious, as without reſpect of any, nor tarrying about priſonners, all ſuch as preſented themſelues before them, were

The ſecond combate in which the imperials were ouerthrowne.

Number of the dead French and Imperial.

were hewen in peeces, ſo as the D. of Sauoy and *Dom-Ferrant* to ſaue thẽſelues were faine to runne into the thick of the wood, where they remained ſo long, as it was a great time before any newes could be heard of *Dom-Ferrant*, ſo as hee was eſteemed either to be dead or taken priſonner. And there was alſo taken a Colonel of the Almanes, which a Harquebuſier found within the wood ſore hurt, who being kept by the Baron of Fontenay, dyed a few daies after in his handes. A Spaniſh Captaine named *de Caſtres*, who ſaide hee had beene page to the Admirall, being abandoned for dead, was taken by an other Harquebuſier, to whome they gaue ſo good entertainement, as within few daies after his wounds being broght into good plight, for a ſmall ranſome he was ſent away, and conueied vnto the Caſtle of Renty. There was likewiſe taken priſonner, a gentleman of great vertue and knowledge of the Emperours chamber, named *De Silly*, who afterward was employed to mediate a peace betweene theſe two Princes.

After that the K. was retired with his battaile into his firſt ſtand, the Conſtable encamped the ſame night within the wood, with al the Vantgard, in the very place of victorie, but with ſmall reſt notwithſtanding; for that all the night the Imperials kept themſelues in battaile, the two armies remaining in great doubt one of the other, for the French preſumed how that the Emperour being a couragious & magnanimous Prince, would neuer endure ſuch a loſſe, without doing of his beſt for reuenge: but he ſeeing himſelfe weak, and ſo vnfauoured of fortune, knowing the puiſſance of the K. feared leaſt he would turn all his forces to defeat him for altogether. So as hauing with all diligence poſſible, cauſed his Campe to be encloſed about round with great trenches, by peep of day we might ſee them in ſo great forwardnes, as they reſted as impregnable. The ſame day notwithſtanding to make an end of his part, the K. ſent the Conſtable to view whether there could be any acceſſe or means to go ſearch thẽ out within their owne fort, who gaue aduiſe of an impoſsibilitie, without danger of looſing thereby a great number of valiant men: ſo this day paſſed peaceably ouer on each ſide, ſtill continuing for all that the battery againſt the caſtle, vntill night that the Emperour cauſed all his artillery to be diſcharged in ſigne of great ioy, and reioycing for the good newes which he had receaued of the defeate of *Peter Stroſsy*, and a great number of the French partie in Italy. I will tell you elſe where how the matter was: vpon this the fifteenth day of the moneth, the retreat of the army into France was reſolued of in full councell, as well for want of prouiſions for horſes, as to change the ayre, which was already infected and corrupted with the ſtinche of carrins and dead horſes, whereof the plague is quickly engendred, and other diſeaſes very contagious in an army; alleadging in like ſorte that the K. would not loſe ſo many braue men as followed him, before ſo little a place, and of no worth; but for all that the K. meant firſt to aduertiſe the Emperor therof, and ſent him word that it was not for any doubt of him, and that if hee would aſſure him that he would meet him, he would tarry for him foure long houres on the way, as he did: for hauing cauſed the Cartes and baggage to be ſent away, the armye wholy remained in battaile more then three howres in the ſame place, where the Monday before they had fought. But none preſenting themſelues, and knowing how that the Imperialles were cloſe ſhutte vp in their Campe, hauing in their ſight ſet fire on all the Villages about, they began with a ſoſte march to retire, looking back ſometimes to ſee if they were followed. And ſo late enough arriued at Montcaure, a league from Montereul, where they ſoiourned 3. daies together, ſtil to learn out & vnderſtand the enterpriſes of th'emperor, the which as long as the French forces were ſtill aſſembled, the King might more eaſi-

lye preuent, and meete with them if they ſhould put into the fielde. But hauing certaine intelligence how the armie was not as yet departed from their firſt lodging in the plaines of Marque, and that the Emperour expreſſely tarried to ſee the reparations and amendements of Rente, the K. purpoſed in like ſort to giue ſome reſt and refreſhing to his owne; Notwithſtanding that before the fiue dayes were out, want of fourage and euill ayre of the marſhes cauſed them to diſlodge and come neerer to Montereul, where they ſoiourned fiue other dayes entire; the K. being lodged in the Charter houſe, and the Campe pitched all along the little riuer of Cauche, where the Engliſh and Scottiſh companies receiued an euill bobbe, in being ſcattered and lodged two leagues farther thē the Vantgarde, in a village called Marenlo, where the imperials hauing receaued aduertiſement thereof, and being guided by one of the ſame village, were to ſurpriſe them at midnight, ſo as their lodgings being ſet on fire, ſome of the maſters, ſeruants, and horſes tyed were burned, ſome ſlaine, and ſome caried away priſonners: wherupon the Emperour being retired to S. Omer, without hauing any meanes to be able to vndertake any matter of great importance or damage to the French; as alſo that the Winter and euill weather threatned him, the K. departed thence with the D. of Guiſe, and certaine gentlemen of his houſe to goe to Compeugne, after he had well munitioned and fortefied the gariſons of the townes of Ardres, and Bolongne, to make head & keep ſtrong againſt his enemy, if he would beſiege him: the Conſtable remaining cheefe of the ouerplus of the army, as well to keepe it vnited, as the better and more readily to be able to prouide for whatſoeuer the Emperour could vndertake: whoſe guiles the French haue alwaies feared, eſpecially vpon the end of a warre; wherupon they took occaſion to charge now & then vpon his campe, as well thereby to know and learne ſome thing, as to keep ſcoute for the fouragers, who were faine to goe very far to recouer victuals and fourage for their horſes, who hauing no more left to nouriſh them withall, they were enforced againe to diſlodge and paſſe ouer the riuer on the other ſide, where the army was pitched & encamped in the villages of Brameu, Eſpimeu, Beaurin, & al alongſt the riuer ſhoare.

The K. army diſſolued. They taried there certain daies, fearing leaſt the Emperour ſhould beſiege Montreul, Ardres, or Dourlan: notwithſtanding being aduertiſed how his Souldiers for want of pay, victuals, and other commodities, diſſolued themſelues: the conſtable not to conſume the reſt of the victuals of the frontire (which were alreadye greatly diminiſhed and growne deare) ſent home the rirebands to their houſes, and diſmiſſed the Zuizers well contented & ſatisfied, as wel with their pay, as with the order of knighthood beſtowed by the K. vpon *Mandoſſe* their Generall, and vpon the Captains *Theodore Inderhalden* Colonel of the Cantons, and *Petroman Clery* Colonel of the townes, and *Aonis* who was afterwardes the K. Embaſſadour to the Grizons, a few daies after being accompanied with the Marſhal *S. Andre*, he came vnto the K. who gaue the cōduct of the reſt of the army to the D. of Vendoſme: wherupon the emperor who had alwaies delaied and diſſembled his determination, ſeeing his forces diminiſhed ſuddenly, called backe certaine companies which before hee had cauſed to departe the campe, to drawe towards Hedin. The which the D. of Vendoſme foreſeeing, & that he meant to be reuenged in burning the flat country, as the French had done his, cauſed his camp to diſlodge, ſtil to accoſt him and hold him in ſuch awe, as he ſhuld not ſcatter his army, ſo as hauing paſſed the riuer of Authie, hee encamped that night at Dampierre, vntill the next morrow about noone, when as hee was aduertiſed how the moſt part of the Imperial army and cauallery was come down to Auchy, a Caſtle appertaining to the Count of Aiguemont, and had fired the ſame, broken & defeated

certaine

certaine companies of light cauallery, which the Duke doubting of their cõming to hinder the paſſage of the riuer had ſent thither. The which cauſed him ſodenlye to raiſe his Campe from Dampierre, and imagining by the courſe which his enemye tooke, that he meant to beſiege Abbeuille or Dorlan, hee approched neerer to theſe two places, the which he furniſhed and fortefied with what euer was neceſſarye. Afterwards on the morrow being the firſt of September, he paſſed the riuer of Somme, and pitched his Campe at Pondormy, a place very commodious both to keepe the Country and paſſage of the riuer: the ſame day the Imperials began to make waſte, and to burne the flat Country which the French had abandoned, for two or three leagues compaſſe, encamping at Saint Requier, two leagues from the French, whom they thought ſhould not diſlodge thence without battaile offred, or ſome charges or other braueries perfourmed: an occaſion that the next morning early the D. of Vendoſme ſent his light cauallerie with three hundred men at armes to ſupporte them, vnder the conduct of the Prince of Anguian, who approched as neere their Campe as he was able, and kept them ſo as they ſhould not ſcatter to burne and deſtroye the villages, holding them in ſuch awe and ſubiection, that they alwaies marched in troupes cloſe together: at night the French ouerthrew at their taile certain waggons laden with victualles, which were nothing but apples, bonillons, and very naughtye bread: the which cauſed them to think that in ſo great want and neceſsitie of victuals they would not long keepe themſelues encamped: notwithſtanding they marched afterwards all along the riuer of Authie, and ſet fire on the Caſtles and Villages alongſt as they paſſed. As at Dampierre, Daurye, Marchy, Marchye, Mainthenay, and diuers other places: an occaſion that the Duke of Vendoſme ſent ſixe ſcore men at armes as well of his company as of the Marſhall *S. Andres*, with 9. Enſignes of foote to lodge in the Towne of Montereul, which the Imperialles made countenance as though they meant to beſiege: whereof being aduertiſed, and changing their purpoſe, they returned back to paſſe the Riuer of Authye, and deſcended into the Marſhes belowe Hedin, betweene the riuer and an other which commeth out of the County of S. Poul, in a place called Meſnil, fit to be fortefied for the keeping and aſſurance of the baliadge of Hedin, and county of S. Pol. Then on the twelfth of September they began to reare and build vp a forte, hauing for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of the defence, leauied a great number of Pionners and labourers out of the Countryes about, which they did without any let, for beſides that they were within their landes, the French army was maruelouſly diminiſhed and leſſened euery day, both by reaſon of ſickneſſe among the Souldiers, as of the companies which were ſent vnto the townes, which were threatned with a ſiege at hand. This done, the D. of Vendoſme knowing his Souldiers to be very wearye with the long trauaile of this voyage, to refreſh and ſolace them, brake vp his Campe, and ſent certaine companies of men at armes of the moſt tired, to winter in their ancient Garriſons, and his light cauallerie in places neereſt to the enemy, and to helpe and ſuccour the poore people, to husband and ſowe their fieldes The foote companies of French, Engliſh, and Scottiſh, were lodged in the Townes and Borroghes all alongſt the the banke of the Riuer of Some. The Almanes of the County of *Reingraue*, and Baron of Frontenay, at S. Eſprit de Reux; which they cauſed to be fortefied for a counterforte to Meſmil, and thoſe of the Count Rocdolphe, and Reiſberge, tooke their way towardes Piemont and Italy.

The Hiſtorie of Fraunce.

THE THIRD BOOKE.



You haue already ſeene how the French and the Imperialles ſought out one another with as great ſtomacke as euer: eche of them the more forward, thorough the preſence of their Princes, which as then conducted the armies, when as *Henry* with great fury battered the caſtle of Renty, and had carried it, had not the Emperour broght thither all his forces, the better to encourage them which were beſieged, and allaye the fury of the French, by the skirmiſhes and hotte ſallies which he cauſed to be vndertaken by the cheefeſt of his army; ſo as the Erench albeit they carried away the honour of the memorable reencounter which I haue mencioned, (in which the Spaniſh Fanterie put to rout, the Almane Piſtoliers of Count *Vul-meinfort*, ſince called Reiſters, were broken and put to flight by the French Cauallerie) were yet in the end conſtrained to quit the place, retyring themſelues in march, as if they ſhould haue preſented battaile to the Imperials, from which the Emperour kept them thorough the fauour of his trenches. Afterwards the two Princes hauing for the reaſons which I alleadged elſewhere, broken & diſſolued their armies, wherof they placed a good part in the garriſons of their frontiers, the better to be able continually to vndertake an enterpriſe more ſecretly, & as opportunity ſerued, helde themſelues a long time vpon their garde, without much diſcouering themſelues, through the diſcommodities of the Autumne, and violence of the bluſtring Winter: employing themſelues onely in ſome ſurpriſes and ſecret intelligences, whereof verye fewe ſucceded ſo well as the vndertakers deſired. Theſe two Princes in the meane ſpace pricked forward, no leſſe with enuye, then a reciprocall ambition, boyling with a worldlye deſire of reuenge, by the remembrance of ſo great loſſes, old & new offences, made ready al kinde of preparatiues for a war at hād, and much more bloudye then the former; ſo as the brute being ſpread throughout France of the rodes which the Imperial garriſons ſtil made, the French therby ſoone tooke occaſion to march vnder the Marſhall of *S.* Andre, for to ſurpriſe, ſcale, at breake of daye, and cutte into peeces, whomſoeuer they ſhould finde in armes, in the Caſtle of Cambreſy. At what time the Spaniards had notwithſtanding the fauour

uour of a faire warre, to retire themſelues whether it liked them beſt. About the beginning of the ſame ſpring *Bouillon* as the K. lieutenant in the abſence of the D. of Neuers Gouernour of Champaigne, was ſent thither to reſcue thoſe of Mariembourg: afterwards to enterpriſe vpon the enemy as occaſion ſhould be offred, for the Imperialles meant no leſſe to the place then to the Garriſon, becauſe that this Towne (hauing before beene a Village and pleaſant ſeate of *Mary* widdowe to *Lewis* King of Hungarie, which ſhe had cauſed to be moſt curiouſly builded and fortefied, whileſt that ſhe was gouerneſſe of the Countrye for the Emperour her Brother) was builded and raiſed vp much ſtronger, and farre better prouided then before: yea the K. would needs beſtowe his owne name thereof, as this Princeſſe before had done hers: which notwithſtanding more happye in that, could not out of the memorye of the people bordering round about. Mariembourg. Pope Iuly 3. deceaſed.

The three and twentith of March Pope *Iulye* the third of that name deceaſed, after hauing taken great paines in the latter end of his yeares, to reconcyle theſe two great Lordes, whome himſelfe before had ſet to debate: an occaſion that the ninth day of Aprill the Cardinall *Marcel Ceruin* of Montpulcien in Tuſcane, was choſen and proclaimed Pope, who by no meanes would change his name as the reſt were wonte to doe. He was Biſhop of Nicaſtre, and Cardinal of the tittle of Holye croſſe in Hieruſalem, who died poyſoned for all that, as ſome affirme, the two and twentith day of his election, for that he was of too good a life. But in very truth as hee was before giuen to be ſicke of the yellowe launders, the diſeaſe grewe ſo ſore vpon him in his olde yeares, as hee dyed the three and twentith day of his Papacye. True it is that a fewe dayes before his death he made himſelfe be crowned with very ſmall expences, and very modeſtly. Now as he was very wiſe, ſo men had a great hope that he would correct many thinges in the Romiſh Church, and eſpecially that he would chaſe away all the diſſolution and ſuperfluitie thereof, from whence the brute of his poyſoning did growe: for indeede hee aboliſhed the ſuperfluities of gardes, and other honours which the firſt Biſhops of Rome knew not once what they meant. Afterwards the three and twentith of May the Cardinals thoſe in their conclaue, the Cardinall *Iohn Pierre Caraffa*, Deane of the Colledge called Theatin Neapolitain, named *Paul* the fourth, eſteemed to be a man very eloquent and learned. The firſt author (being a Monke at Veniſe) of Ieſuiſtes, of whome I will ſpeake elſe where. For at diuers times, and throughout all the Prouinces of Chriſtendome, yea as farre as the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, they haue engrauen and thundred out the name of their profeſſion, thorough the merite of their paines, incredible hazardes and cruelties, which they haue ſuffered among the Barbarians, for the name of Chriſt. Pope Paul 4. Ieſuiſtes.

In this time *Philip* of Auſtria, by *Mary* King of England, as well to appeaſe the mutinyes which were growne betweene the Engliſh malcontentes thorough the alliance with a Stranger, and other greeued with the change of the Proteſtant Religion for the Romane, as the better to entertaine traffique and other commodityes with the French, one parte of the great riches of that inſularie kingdome, curious on the other ſide of the generall good and repoſe of Chriſtendome, refuſed not with *Charles* the Emperour his Father, and *Henry* the ſecond, to hearken to a vniuerſall peace, eſpecially at the perſwaſions of the Engliſh Cardinall *Poole*, who hauing paſſed betweene the Emperous and the King of France, did marueloulye ſollicite them to a good accorde: whereunto the rather to induce them, he inſiſted both by woordes and wrighting. Among other meanes and perſwaſions, wherewith hee ſerued himſelfe to bring them to this poynt, he vſed theſe.

Cardinal Pole his perſwasions to a peace.

Whileſt that you make ciuill warre one vpon another, the Turke ſtretcheth out at large his dominion, and hath already taken two fortes by land and Sea, to wit Belgrade and Rhodes, by meanes whereof hee hath made his way as farre as Bude, and is growne maiſter of the Danube; that if God had not raiſed him vp the K. of Perſia for an enemie, it is very likely that long ſince he had put all Chriſtendome vnder his obedience. By this occaſion many falſe Chriſtians are ſo multiplyed in diuers places, with ſuch corruption of all kinde of diſcipline, as well eccleſiaſticall as ciuill, as your power is not great enough to puniſh and correct them, which the mutinies growne in ſo many places well declare, the offices of religion left, the ſchiſmes and hereſies which in the meane time engender and grow throughout all Countries; you ought to conſider your own dutie, and aboue all that you be Princes of chriſtian religion. And albeit that God hath permitted Satan, (the author of all miſcheefe, who goeth about to ſtrike the Church like Corne) to moue warre among you who are the two moſt principall and nobleſt members of the Church, yet hath hee not permitted his malice to exceede prophane and ciuill actions: for hee hath countergarded you entirely in one religion, in one ſame faith and opinion, aſſembled and vnited in one ſelfe ſame body of the Church: otherwiſe it were not poſſible to finde meanes to ſet you at accorde. And albeit that many other Princes are reuolted from the Church, and that the enemye of mankinde hath ſpread his malice throughout, God notwithſtanding hath looked vpon you in pittie, and brought to nought the attemptes of the Deuill. In which as for a certain ſigne of his bounty and clemency towards you, he ſheweth that finally he wil be ſerued by you, and vnite you with one fraternall bond, together with his Vicar on earth, to take away theſe ſo perillous diſcordes, and reſtore againe peace, as well in the ciuill as eccleſiaſticall eſtate.

Pole alleadged many other thinges to this purpoſe, greatly threatning them with the wrath and vengeance of God, if they did not leaue of theſe their paſsions, and take compaſsion of the poore people ſo greatly afflicted. And albeit that he preuailed nothing, yet for ſo much as the affaires of England came to his wiſh, hee inſiſted in ſuch ſorte, as hee cauſed the Emperour and the King of France to come to this poynte, to ſende Embaſſadours on the one parte and the other. The Queene of England who carried her ſelfe neuter in this cauſe, cauſed a place to bee choſen neate and proper in the fielde, betweene Cales, Ardes, and Graueline, Townes vnder the ſubiection of England, France, and Burgondie, ſcituate as in a tryangle, then hauing made caſt a trenche round, ſhe cauſed foure lodgiuges to be reared vp for the time onely, but commodious enough; where the three and twentith daye of May the Embaſſadours aſſembled. On the Emperours parte the Biſhop of Arras, among other for the French King were the Cardinall of Lorraine, and the Conſtable; for England to mediate the Peace, was *Pole*, the Earle of Arundel, and Paget. The brute hereof being ſpread abroade, gaue men occaſion to think and hope for much, eſpeciallye thoſe who vnderſtoode not the deapth of the differences: for there was queſtion made of the Duchies of Milan, Bourgondie, Sauoye, Piemont, Corſe, Nauarre, Lorraine, Luxẽbourg, of the Townes of Thou, Verdun and Metz: matters hauing beene long and ſtiffelye debated, as among other difficulties, the Engliſh mediators were of opinion that the knowledge of certaine of the differents, were fitte to be reſerued to the deciding of a Councell, they all departed thence without doing ought. The tenth of Iune *Ferdinande* and the eſtates of the Empire, beſought the Emperour by their letters, that in treating of peace, he would haue eſpeciall regarde to what the K. of France had taken away from the Empire. Now nothing being accorded betweene the Embaſſadours, the Emperour wrote backe fifteene dayes after to the eſtates in like ſubſtance.

The place appointed to treat of the Peace.

I greatly

The Emperours letters to the ſtates.

I Greatly reioyced to ſee that you tooke pittie of thoſe whom the enemie to my ſelfe and the Empire hath ſacked. I alwaies had eſpecial care that they ſhold be reſtored into their former eſtate, and before I receiued your letters, I gaue expreſſe charge to my Embaſſadours, and principall Councellors deputed for a peace, that they ſhould in any wiſe preſſe this, without yeelding one inche. And albeit that in all the treaties of peace which I haue made, I thought in reſpect of the publike tranquilitie they would not bee to obſtinate, yet they are departed away without doing ought, and notwithſtanding I doe not refuſe a peace for the good of Chriſtendome, ſo as they make me any reaſonable offers, and as opportunitie ſhall be offred. I will ſtraine my ſelfe to get ſuch goods as haue beene pluckt from the Empire reſtored into their former eſtate. See how God which hath the harts of Kings in his hands, making each partie to iudge the others demaunds to vnreaſonable, would not permit Chriſtendome ſo ſoone to enioy a benefit ſo much deſired. In ſort that each one keeping himſelfe vpon feare of a ſurpriſal, eaſily made his neighbor thinke, how the cariadges of the Garriſons round about tended to more high enterpriſes. So as theſe two Princes tickled with the like feare, and quickly taking one anothers actions for a ſufficient defiance of warre, as *Henrie* deuided his men where he ſaw it moſt needfull, the Emperour firſt put his armie into the field of twentie thouſand fighting men vnder *Martin Rouſſan* baſtard of Cleues, who after many roades, burnings, and vncredible waſts all along the Meuſe, encamped at Deux Giuets, minding to build a fort vpon that mountaine, at the foot whereof this riuer runneth, there by to bridle all the quarters round about, & make a ſure retreate there for al ſuch as were able to endomage the French. The D. of Neuers in the meane ſpace hauing taken good order for *Maizieres*, and other places of importance, reſolued by the K. commaundement to victuall well Mariemburg. And to that end hauing ſpeedily and ſecretly made ready all preparations as well of men as victuals, munitions, and companies vnder the Comte of Retheloix, he ſent three hundred harquebuſiers as well French as Engliſh and Scots, mounted to diſcouer and bring backe word to the cheefe of the eight hundred light horſe, which followed them, what they ſhould diſcry: who with the leader of the vantgard of two hundred men at armes, and eight enſignes of fantaſſins which marched after, and a number of harquebuſiers cloſe to the winges of the wagons, prouided therto whatſoeuer was needfull according to the generals commaundment, who led the battell of three hundred men at armes, and eight enſignes of fantaſsins, hauing on his backe the arrieregard of two hundred men at armes, then one hundred Archers to haſten them, and to aduertiſe the chefe of euery occurrence. In ſuch ſort as this order being thus followed, ioyned thereto the ſpeedines of the march, and well diſciplined obedience of the ſouldiers, was the cauſe that fiue hundred wagons as well of the K. munition as voluntarie Marchants entred in without any diſturbance, which either the enemie or badnes of the way could yeeld vnto them, fully perſwading themſelues throughout all the marche, which was eight long leagues, that they were able enough to make hed to the enemie, when, where, and with what troupes ſoeuer hee would aduance, though he were dubble as ſtrong as the French. Afterwards the D. hauing placed there, and encouraged *Du Fumel* gouernour, & left fiftie men at armes, two hundred light horſe, and nine olde companies of the beſt ſouldiers on foote, departed thence, and making his vantgard of the hindermoſt, kept on another way to viſit Rocroy, where the Capitane *La Lande* was. So the Garriſons of Campaigne,

frontires

frontires of Haynaut, and countries about being well prouided, the imperiall armie was as ſoone diſlodged thorough the infection and diſcommoditie of victuals which they there endured. So as *Martin Rouſſan* being dead and many other, the better ſorte were ſent to Giuets. Whether the D. of Neuers marched with his troupes: againſt whome the imperials skirmiſhing, and ſetting on them with many ſalies, maintained and doubled by their reciprocall ſuccours, had ſoone enough recorded a memorable reencounter, conſidering the aduantage and euident fauour ſtill turning on the French partie, had not *Henrie* expreſly forbidden his Leiutenant to fight, but in great, and in the field without aſſailing them in their fort. So as being retired and diſperſed into Garriſons, the reſt of the time paſſed ouer mildly vntill the midſt of Auguſt, whē the Emperour hauing ſent the Prince of Orange with new forces to reaſſemble his troupes, ſet forth an armie vnder the generall of the houſe of *Challons:* the effectes whereof notwithſtanding was but to keepe in the French, and rayſe vp the forte *A Couins* neere Mariembourg, which was after called *Philippe Ville*. Beſides the Amirall *Gaſpard* of Coligny gouernour of Picardie, tooke ſuch order within his frontires as he left nothing at randome. *Anthoine* of Vendoſme, had ſurrendred that gouerment into the K. hands, at ſuch time as being married to *Ioane* of Albert, ſoale heire to *Henrie* of Albert, he went to take poſſeſsion of the kingdome of Nauarre, Dutchy of Albert, Earledome of Foix, Armignac, Bigorre, and Soueraintie of Bearn, after the deceaſe of his Father in law. Since notwithſtanding as ſome of the Garriſons of Picardie mingled with 15. hundred horſe of the Rerebandes, whome they tearme the companies of the nobles, and fower hundred pioners had ſo happily ouerrunne the countrie round about vnder *La Iaille* their generall, as they all returned laden with a rich nauy ineſtimable bootie, *Hauſimont* gouernour of Bapaume, finding them betweene a woode a village and a riuer, (the paſſages whereof he cauſed to bee broken downe and kept) without skouts, without order, without any feare of the enemie, and without hart, charged them ſo roundly with a few men, as in leſſe then nought, he made them leaue together with their courage al their rich pickkerie, yea and their verie liues at his deuotion. The wood and the riuer notwithſtanding ſaued a great number, *La Iaille* hurt, and more then a third part priſoners the reſt died in the place. The which the imperials tooke ſo greatly to their aduantage, as they could not ſpeak of any other more notable exploite, ſo farre as it grew to a ſcoffe among them, how they had taken the nobles of France without weighing thē. Albeit that theſe troupes were not indeede furniſhed for the moſt part but of Ronturiers, vnnoble euery kind of way, or of ſome ſeruants which the olde or ſicke Lordes, widowes and orphelins had ſent thither: the gentlemen hauing beene all retyred to the ordinances of the K. who ought in reſpect of his owne honour, and profit of his ſubiects to reforme ſuch and like lewd abuſes, as are committed in the companies of bands and rerebands. In ſumme the enemies encouraged with ſuch a ſucceſſe, tooke heart of grace to venter further vpō Picardie: for the defence wherof the D. of Guiſe retired into the town of his owne name, the Admirall into his gouerment, & the K. himſelfe aduanced as far as Villiers Cottorets, the better to aſſure and diſpoſe his forces where hee ſhould ſee neede: yet they kept much at this ſtay, and within a little after the forces of the imperials diſſolued without performing any great matter.

The ſtate of Piemont.

IN this time notwithſtanding whilſt they repoſed themſelues vnder a good guard, the French and imperials awakened but too often for the worſt in Piemont, vnder the

the Marſhall *de Briſſac*, and D. of Alua Leiutenants for their Soueranes: for the Marſhall hauing opened the paſſages of *La Vaudote* and of the Alpes, thereby to giue a more eaſie entrie to all occurrences, as alſo in Lombardie and Italy, by the ſurpriſall which he had made the winter before of Yuree, and the voluntarie yeelding of Bielle, withall appurtinances vnto it reſolued at the ſpring to ſtretch out further the bonds of his gouernment. Firſt he fortefied Santia which ſome call Saint Iaco, a place cleane razed downe, whereunto hauing giuen a ſquare forme, and a great bulwarke on euery flanke, defended with two high platformes, diſcouering the whole circuite a Culuerins length, and furniſhing it beſides, with whatſoeuer the art of that time was able to yeeld, he made it very ſufficient to commaund the whole plaine without any ſubiection: cloſing vp the paſſage of Verceil, Creſentin, and all Lombardie, ſo far as he brideled the commings forth and ſuccours of *Vulpian*, which he determined to famiſh, if he were not able to enforce it at the ſecond ſiege which he purpoſed to lay there. Afterwards he ſeaſed vpon Crepacuore, the better to open his way, and keepe the paſſage free, attending the execution of the enterpriſe which *Saluoiſon* one of his Captaines was to make vpon Caſal, a place of the greateſt importance & beſt defended of all that quarter. This chefetaine hauing reaſonably well profited in learning, in which he was nouriſhed and brought vp by his parents, that by the deſart thereof he might come to greater preferment, retired himſelfe from the Vniuerſities for occaſions ſleight enough. Whereby giuing himſelfe to carrie the ſword, and to make profeſsion of armes, hee coulde not long endure to liue in France without ſeeing of Piemont: where the exerciſe of armes pleaſed him in ſuch ſort, as being firſt enroled in the muſter Booke, then thorough his owne merite honoured with the degree of Corporall, which got him the halbard, afterwards an enſigne of a companie of fanterie, in the end was as well thought of by his Maſter of the campe, as mounting by all the degrees of warre he grew maruelous well knowne and recommended of euery man. Rich notwithſtanding in honours and friendſhip more then wealth, or other recompences, (which ſuch as carrie not a gentle hart prefer before all gentilitie) ſo farre as he was made gouernour of Verrue: where he wrought and addreſſed an enterpriſe which I will declare vnto you, for an inſtruction to ſuch as will giue them to follow the like traine of armes. Hauing got good intelligence of the towne of the people and munition which was there, by meanes of one *Fantarolle*, a Marchant of Pont de ſture who did ordinarily trafique thither: and hauing made ready all his preparatiues to ſcale it by night, whilſt a mariage of one of the moſt notable inhabitants was ſolemniſed, where *Figuerol* gouernour of the place, which the chiefeſt of the garriſon and countrie was aſſembled, the Phiſitians which hee ſent to fetch from Caſal vnder the colour of a counterfaite ſickenes, to take away all ſuſpition which might ariſe, being no ſooner come, but he with *Birague*, *Vimercat*, and a number of ſouldiers, which found the guards, ſentinels and other the inhabitants almoſt all aſleepe, made himſelfe maſter of the towne, after a little ſheding of their blood which offred to reſiſt him, ſeaſing on the market place, gates, carfoxes, and other places of importance, thorough the helpe of a number of ſouldiers, which he before had cauſed to come in, clad in countrie folkes apparell, as if they had ment to ſell their fruites to the inhabitants. The compt of Ladron notwithſtanding, cheefe of the Almanes, which hee quickly got together: kept the place a long time againſt *Saluoiſon* and the Marſhall himſelfe, whoſe forces ſuppreſt him ſoone enough, whilſt that *Figuerol*, and a number of Spanniards, amaſed at the crie of France, got haue clad into the Citadel, which the Marſhall of Briſſac ready with the Cannon battered, and carried away in fower

Captaine Saluoiſon.

and

frontires of Haynaut, and countries about being well prouided, the imperiall armie was as ſoone diſlodged thorough the infection and diſcommoditie of victuals which they there endured. So as *Martin Rouſſan* being dead and many other, the better ſorte were ſent to Giuets. Whether the D. of Neuers marched with his troupes: againſt whome the imperials skirmiſhing, and ſetting on them with many ſalies, maintained and doubled by their reciprocall ſuccours, had ſoone enough recorded a memorable reencounter, conſidering the aduantage and euident fauour ſtill turning on the French partie, had not *Henrie* expreſly forbidden his Leiutenant to fight, but in great, and in the field without aſſailing them in their fort. So as being retired and diſperſed into Garriſons, the reſt of the time paſſed ouer mildly vntill the midſt of Auguſt, whē the Emperour hauing ſent the Prince of Orange with new forces to reaſſemble his troupes, ſet forth an armie vnder the generall of the houſe of *Challons*: the effectes whereof notwithſtanding was but to keepe in the French, and rayſe vp the forte *A Couins* neere Mariembourg, which was after called *Philippe Ville*. Beſides the Amirall *Gaſpard* of Coligny gouernour of Picardie, tooke ſuch order within his frontires as he left nothing at randome. *Anthoine* of Vendoſme, had ſurrendred that gouerment into the K. hands, at ſuch time as being married to *Ioane* of Albert, ſoale heire to *Henrie* of Albert, he went to take poſſeſsion of the kingdome of Nauarre, Dutchy of Albert, Earledome of Foix, Armignac, Bigorre, and Soueraintie of Bearn, after the deceaſe of his Father in law. Since notwithſtanding as ſome of the Garriſons of Picardie mingled with 15. hundred horſe of the Rerebandes, whome they tearme the companies of the nobles, and fower hundred pioners had ſo happily ouerrunne the countrie round about vnder *La Iaille* their generall, as they all returned laden with a rich nauy ineſtimable bootie, *Hauſimont* gouernour of Bapaume, finding them betweene a woode a village and a riuer, (the paſſages whereof he cauſed to bee broken downe and kept) without skouts, without order, without any feare of the enemie, and without hart, charged them ſo roundly with a few men, as in leſſe then nought, he made them leaue together with their courage al their rich pickkerie, yea and their verie liues at his deuotion. The wood and the riuer notwithſtanding ſaued a great number, *La Iaille* hurt, and more then a third part priſoners the reſt died in the place. The which the imperials tooke ſo greatly to their aduantage, as they could not ſpeak of any other more notable exploite, ſo farre as it grew to a ſcoffe among them, how they had taken the nobles of France without weighing thē. Albeit that theſe troupes were not indeede furniſhed for the moſt part but of Ronturiers, vnnoble euery kind of way, or of ſome ſeruants which the olde or ſicke Lordes, widowes and orphelins had ſent thither: the gentlemen hauing beene all retyred to the ordinances of the K. who ought in reſpect of his owne honour, and profit of his ſubiects to reforme ſuch and like lewd abuſes, as are committed in the companies of bands and rerebands. In ſumme the enemies encouraged with ſuch a ſucceſſe, tooke heart of grace to venter further vpō Picardie: for the defence wherof the D. of Guiſe retired into the town of his owne name, the Admirall into his gouerment, & the K. himſelfe aduanced as far as Villiers Cottorets, the better to aſſure and diſpoſe his forces where hee ſhould ſee neede: yet they kept much at this ſtay, and within a little after the forces of the imperials diſſolued without performing any great matter.

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IN this time notwithſtanding whilſt they repoſed themſelues vnder a good guard, the French and imperials awakened but too often for the worſt in Piemont, vnder the

the Marshall *de Brissac*, and D. of Alua Leiutenants for their Soueranes: for the Marshall hauing opened the passages of *La Vaudote* and of the Alpes, thereby to giue a more easie entrie to all occurrences, as also in Lombardie and Italy, by the surprisall which he had made the winter before of Yuree, and the voluntarie yeelding of Bielle, withall appurtinances vnto it resolued at the spring to stretch out further the bonds of his gouernment. First he fortefied Santia which some call Saint Iaco, a place cleane razed downe, whereunto hauing giuen a square forme, and a great bulwarke on euery flanke, defended with two high platformes, discouering the whole circuite a Culuerins length, and furnishing it besides, with whatsoeuer the art of that time was able to yeeld, he made it very sufficient to commaund the whole plaine without any subiection: closing vp the passage of Verceil, Cresentin, and all Lombardie, so far as he brideled the commings forth and succours of *Vulpian*, which he determined to famish, if he were not able to enforce it at the second siege which he purposed to lay there. Afterwards he seased vpon Crepacuore, the better to open his way, and keepe the passage free, attending the execution of the enterprise which *Saluoison* one of his Captaines was to make vpon Casal, a place of the greatest importance & best defended of all that quarter. This chefetaine hauing reasonably well profited in learning, in which he was nourished and brought vp by his parents, that by the desart thereof he might come to greater preferment, retired himselfe from the Vniuersities for occasions sleight enough. Whereby giuing himselfe to carrie the sword, and to make profession of armes, hee coulde not long endure to liue in France without seeing of Piemont: where the exercise of armes pleased him in such sort, as being first enroled in the muster Booke, then thorough his owne merite honoured with the degree of Corporall, which got him the halbard, afterwards an ensigne of a companie of fanterie, in the end was as well thought of by his Master of the campe, as mounting by all the degrees of warre he grew marueious well knowne and recommended of euery man. Rich notwithstanding in honours and friendship more then wealth, or other recompences, (which such as carrie not a gentle hart prefer before all gentilitie) so farre as he was made gouernour of Verrue: where he wrought and addressed an enterprise which I will declare vnto you, for an instruction to such as will giue them to follow the like traine of armes. Hauing got good intelligence of the towne of the people and munition which was there, by meanes of one *Fantarolle*, a Marchant of Pont de sture who did ordinarily trafique thither: and hauing made ready all his preparatiues to scale it by night, whilst a mariage of one of the most notable inhabitants was solemnised, where *Figuerol* gouernour of the place, which the chiefest of the garrison and countrie was assembled, the Phisitians which hee sent to fetch from Casal vnder the colour of a counterfaite sickenes, to take away all suspition which might arise, being no sooner come, but he with *Birague*, *Vimercat*, and a number of souldiers, which found the guards, sentinels and other the inhabitants almost all a sleepe, made himselfe master of the towne, after a little sheding of their blood which offred to resist him, seasing on the market place, gates, carfoxes, and other places of importance, thorough the helpe of a number of souldiers, which he before had caused to come in, clad in countrie folkes apparell, as if they had ment to sell their fruites to the inhabitants. The compt of Ladron notwithstanding, cheefe of the Almanes, which hee quickly got together: kept the place a long time against *Saluoison* and the Marshall himselfe, whose forces suppresst him soone enough, whilst that *Figuerol*, and a number of Spanniards, amased at the crie of France, got haue clad into the Citadel, which the Marshall of Brissac ready with the Cannon battered, and carried away in fower

Captaine Saluoison.

and

and twentie howers, with condition of life ſaued to thoſe that held it, who went away, without carrying any of the munition, whether it beſt liked them. Thus the tenth day of March, one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, the ſtore of prouiſions which was prepared for the recouerie of Piemont, was taken, and *Saluoiſon* eſtabliſhed gouernour of the place, whence the aſſurance of the greter part of the Marquiſat of Montferrat depended, which was already in the K. hands, as being the Key of all that prouince, and gappe of al Lombardie: afterwards with the ſame foote he ſeaſed of all the forts about, and puſhing forward towards *Alexandria*, battered, tooke, and ruined Poman, Saint Saluadour, and other little places not able to hold out, and vnpoſſible to be fortefied ſo ſoone as he deſired, the better to open to himſelfe the way to Milan. Ioynt that he found it more expedient to remit his forces, & increaſe his army, which he purpoſed to put into the field, then to deuide thē into Bicoques in danger to looſe them all vpon the comming of ſo great an armie as the D. of Alua prepared againſt him.

In Aprill 1555. there grew a notable change in Italy about the free eſtate of Syene, touching the principalitie thereof. To the which *Coſme* of Medices newly created Archduke of Tuſcane had aſpired of a long time: as well for that this common wealth being of ſo great force and ſcope was encloſed within his lands of Tuſcane, as to render the effects of his power conformable to the title which had beene giuen vnto him. In reſpect that the accidents therein grew verie diuers and were ſtrangely handled, me thinketh it very reaſonable that the courſ therof be reſearched euen from the firſt originall. The Emperour being ſeaſed of Siene in Tuſcane, had placed there for gouernour *Don Diego de Mendoze* with a Spanniſh garriſon: againſt whome, hauing begun a Citadell vnder colour of doing it for the townes defence, but carrying himſelfe to ſeuere towards the inhabitants they al conſpired to ſet themſelues at libertie: foreſeeing that the Emperour would bring in the forces of the Florentine their enemie againſt them, and that the Citadell was builded on the way to Florence. *Mendoze* in the meane time vnder colour of defending the people againſt the inſolencies of the Nobles, cauſed them to lay a ſide their armies, but exerciſing his rigor afterwardes on both parties: who being accorded and forgetting their olde quarels, let the French to vnderſtand how rudely they were handled, aduertiſing them of the ſtrange deſſeins of the Spanniards throughout all Italy. Againſt whome they beſought ſuccour, beſeeching to be receiued vnder their protection, eſpecially conſidering that this Principalitie would bee a verie fit thing for the K. the better to bridle the Imperials in Italy. Concluding that Kings being eſtabliſhed to ſuccour the afflicted, and that Siene hauing beene at al times affectionate vnto the French, deſerued not to be refuſed in ſo iuſt a requeſt which brought vnto him nothing but honour and profit, with a maruelous comfort to all Italy. In the ende the ſuccours which they demaunded were promiſed. And albeit that *Coſme* had aduertiſed *Mendoze*, of all the proceeding hereof: yet he nothing fearing the Sienois being bridled in and vnarmed, ſet verie light by the aduertiſment. So as the conſpirators, and other fugitiues thoroughout all Italy leuied in the K. name ſixe thouſand men vnder the conduct of *Nicolas* Earle of Petiglian, of Hieronime Piſan, and *Marie de Saint Flour* with a number of Cauallerie. Now as it fell out that in this time *Dragut Rais* a famous Corſaire, and cheefe of the Turkes armie by ſea ſcowred all along the coaſt of Italy, the K. enemies tooke occaſion thereby to make the bruite to runne, how that he was come thither to put certaine ports of Tuſcane into the French mens handes, which came by ſea in Gallies from Marſeiles to the ſuccours of the Sienois. So as the

The Turks ſcowred the coaſt of Tuſcane.

Spanniards

Spanniards began to arme themſelues, fortefie places, and to demaund ſuccour of the Duke, who ſent eight hundred ſoldiers of prooſe to *Mendoze*, ſeaſing themſelues of the places and paſſage of Siene, whereat the inhabitants were ſo ſtirred vp, as within a few daies after, they cauſed the Earle of Petiglian ſecretly to enter in, with fortie thouſand men, who droue the Spanniards out of Siene, with a great ſlaughter notwithſtanding both of the one part & the other. The reſt of the Spanniards got them into the Citadell, and into the cõuent of preaching Friers, which they had fortefied. But afterwards with the eight peeces of artillerie, which was taken from them, they droue them out of the fortes, the Earle of Saint Flour ariuing there, with two thouſand ſouldiers which reſted of the leauie. In ſuch ſort as they tooke the conuent, and afterwards the Citadell, the moſt part of the chefetaines with the Florentine Capitanes retyring themſelues, and ſo all together by an accord made with the Citizens, they departed out of Siene, and ſeaſed of Orbitelle a place ſeated in a Marſh, but euery way fit to annoy the Sienois. Hereupon the Emperour beeing conſtrained to quitte Metz, and retired into Germanie, where he vnderſtoode of the ſucceſſe of his affaires in Italy, commanded the viceroy of Naples *Dom Garzie de Toledo*, that aſſembling together all the forces which he poſſibly could, he ſhould blocke in the Sienois as much as in him lay, Which he accordingly did in Ianuary *1548*. with twelue thouſand footmen and fifteene hundred horſe, as well Almanes as Neapolitanes. In the meane time the K. had ſent the Cardinall of Ferrare to Siene, and *De Termes* with two thouſand pioners, aſsiſted with the D. of Some, Earle of Saint Flour and other of the Vrſins, fortefying the places as they ſhould ſee neede. *Corneille Bentiuogle* entred into Roſie with fifteene hundred ſouldiers. *Iohn de Thurin* with three hundred men had the charge of Mont-alcin; Malian was giuen to Chiarmont, and *La Turrite* was gouernour thorough Galeas de Saint Seuerin with three hundred men. *Ciuſi* to *Paul* and *Iordan Vrſins* with two thouſand men vnder *Aſinolonga*. At Monticelle were *Cipierre*, *Guy de Bentiuogle*, and the Earle of Petiglian with fiue hundred light horſe, at Port Telamon was the Earle of Mirendolle, and a Satean, *Ioachin* a Gaſcoine Captaine accompanied with two hundred men. So as all *de Termes* his forces deuided thoroughout all the garriſons amounted to twelue thouſand footemen beſides the Citizens in great number all enemies to the Spanniards and Florentines. But there was not aboue fiue hundred horſe: euerie man trauailing to fortefie and prouide for their places, *De Termes* and other euen to the verie women tooke maruelous paines to aſſure *La Capitalle*, whilſt that the viceroye ouerranne the countrie, and attempted the townes, which hee thought to carrie by open force, ſurpriſe, or intelligence. Conducting the armie with *Aſcanio de La Corne*, hee tooke ſome, and was forced to diſcampe before other, as at Moultacin, which was ſuccoured with the men which *Bellegard* nephew to *De Termes* cauſed to enter in. The intelligence which he had in Siene was diſcouered, and albeit the Cardinall cõmitted him vnto priſon which carried the newes, yet he ſet him againe at libertie, wherupon this Prelate was euer ſince ſuſpected of treaſon.

In this time did *Charles* D. of Sauoye, driuen out of his countrie by the King of France, leauing for heire of all his rights his onely Sonne *Philibert Emmanuel*: to whome for recompence of many ſeruices the Emperour gaue the Earledõme of Aſt to enioy it vntill he ſhould be able to recouer his owne inheritance. *Charles* was buried at Verceil almoſt in magnificence Royall. In the meane ſpace the Marſhall *Briſſac* Leiutennant generall for the K. in Piemont, hauing taken Yuree and Verceill without the Caſtle, and pilled the treaſures of the *Sauoyen* within the Church of

D. of Sauoye.

Saint

Saint Euſtace, aſtonied many men in Lombardie. But approching neere Milan, Fernand Gonzaque came verie fitly with forces for the Emperour. An occaſion that *Briſſac* retired backe to Yuree, and quitted Verceil which he was not able to keepe without the Citadell.

Ile of Corſe. The Imperials then not able to maſter Siene retired by little and little: ſo as *De Termes* had leaſure enough to paſſe into Corſe, and there to take the Towne of Saint Florent and Boniface, a porte of the Sea, in times paſt the porte of Siracuſe, from the Genowaies which gouerned there in parte. From whence retiring into France, being called backe by his Prince, he left behinde him a good Garriſon, and *Iordan Vrſin* his Maieſties Lieutenant to commaund there, with a number of French Captaines. The King in the meane time to be reuenged of the Duke of Florence, who held the Emperours cauſe againſt him and the Sienois, *De Termes* being called home, ſent *Pierre Stroſsy* for his Lieutenant General into Tuſcane, with a number of men at armes, charged to draw vnto him his Brother the Prior of Capoue, who was retired from the ſeruice of the French, the which he did, and went with him to La Mirandelle to raiſe there an army. Being arriued at Siene, and communicating his charge with the Cardinall of Ferrara, he thought it not beſt that he ſhould declare himſelfe ſo ſoone for many reaſons: eſpecially for that he had no iuſt occaſion to warre againſt the Florentine, except it were founded vpon the ancient and immortal hatred betweene the Strozzis and Medices, *Strozzy* notwithſtanding leuied at Rome, Vrbin, and other places, where men make market of their life, as many men as hee was able: whereof the Florentine aduertiſed Pope *Iuly*, exhorting him to driue the French out of Tuſcane, and ſuppreſſe the glory of the Sienois, promiſing him that that done, he would giue his daughter in mariage to the nephew of his holynes, and giue her a better portion then all the reſt of his children, ſauing the Prince: ſetting downe in like hand vnto the Emperour the danger of his eſtates in Italy, if the King ſhould make himſelfe more great in Tuſcane, and the meanes which might growe vnto him both in Lombardy and the kingdome of Naples: in ſuch ſort as the Pope and the Emperor ioyning themſelues with him, gaue charge to *Iacques Le Medecin*, Marqueſſe of Marignan, a valiant and wiſe Cheefe to leauie an army to this effect: who gathering together all his forces, and aſſuring himſelfe in his eſpials and diligences, more then any other meanes, did ſo much as the Sienois fearing nothing, and forgetting the charge which their Gouernour had giuen vnto them, to finiſhe the fortifications of theyr Towne: *Rodolphe Baglion Peruſin* generall of the light cauallerie comming about the beginning of Ianuary 1554. by night to Siene, with ſuch diligence, and ſo ſecret was without the care of *Laurens de Chaſtillon*, who made the round vpon the walles, the Towne had become imperiall: yea the Florentines themſelues confeſſed that after the aſſault well defended, if the Sienois had but ſalied out vpon them, tyred with ſo long trauaile and ſleepe, they had bene all defeated. But the Cardinall fearing leaſt they might haue ſome intelligence within the towne, contented himſelfe with thoſe which were ſlaine on the diches and rampire: the Maqueſſe notwithſtanding encamping before the Towne, waſted the whole Country; afterwards he battered the towne ſo furiouſly, as he had put them in great neceſsity, had not *Strozzy* who alreadyhad well furniſhed the ſtrong places of the Country, by his entry into the Town, encouraged the harts of the beſieged, and diminiſhed as much the hope of the enemies. Of whome hauing vnderſtoode how *Baglion* and *Aſcane de La Corne* had enterpriſed vpon Chiuſi one of the twelue ancient Citties of Hetruria, he went to charge them with ſixe hundred Souldiers ſo hottely, as *Baglion* remaining there dead, and *de*

Siene beſieged by the Marques of Marignan.

La

La Corne prisonner, (afterwardes sent captiue into Fraunce) the affaires of the Emperour beganne to growe in euill case. Ioynte that the Kinge to make himselfe the stronger in Italy, sent ouer and aboue the supplye of fiue thousand souldiers Zuizers and Gascons, with some light Cauallerie promising besides to send vnto him succours by Sea, which entred into Siene without the enemies being witting thereof at all. The which emboldned *Strossi* to come foorth with sixe thousand footmen, and fiue hundred chosen horse, manie Sienois following him, whose going foorth was no lesse concealed from the Imperials then their entrance in. Afterwardes hauing giuen *Moriane*, (a place appertaining to the Luguois) for rendeuons vnto his armie which was to come out of Lombardie, he ouerranne diuers places of the Flourentines. He tooke Montalcin and Montcarles, which he fortefied to the great astonishment of the Duke of Flourence, who fearing to loose his owne while hee sought for an others, caused the Marquesse to retire from the siege, to defend the Countrie of Flourence, because that *Strossi* his forces were ioyned vnto him. Then the Marquesse finding him selfe not to bee strong enough, put himselfe within Pescia, there to attende the succours which *Camille Colone*, and *Iohn de Lunes* were to bring vnto him. *Strossi* was determined to charge him vppon the suddaine, but hee retyred to Seraual and Pistoye with such disorder, as it gaue occasion to manie to wish that there had beene a better iudgement in *Strossi* then hee had, so faire meanes of hot pursuite beeing offered vnto him, whereby hee might cleane haue taken awaie such an enemie out of Tuscane, but *Strossi* saide hee did it to gratifie the souldiers which were wearie, and tyred with the long march which they had made. In the ende, the Imperial armie growing stronger, and the succours out of France not being come vnto him, hee was faine to quitte the fielde, and retyre himselfe into Siene. In the meane time *Leon* the Brother of *Pierre Strossi*, tooke certayne shippes of Genoway, laden with Corne, into which hauing put a number of souldiers hee ouerranne the coast of Tuscane, and scouring the portes alongst the Fourentine Seas, after manie harmes which hee had made them to endure, he came and Ankered before Scarlin, a small Towne, and without renowne: which while hee was viewing for the skaling of it, hee dyed of an Harquebuse shot which perced his heade. Whereuppon his Brother beeing greatlie passioned, caused the siege to bee continued whether the succours of Fraunce came vnto him beeing conducted by *Monluc*. Then hauing vnited together his forces, hee made vp his armye of sixe thousand Italians, two thousand Gascons, as manye Zuizers, two thousand fiue hundred Almanes, and one thousande horse, as well light, as of the Ordinance, with which leauing *Monluc* in Siene hee beesieged and battered Ciuitelle, a little Towne of the Flowrentines, which the Marquesse went to defende esteeming it a place of consequence in a fertile soyle, and seruing as a porte and Bulwarke to the Dukes Countries. Hee was there so secretelye, and with such speede, as hee defeated and astonyed manye of the Kinges parte: but *Strossi* repulsed him in such a sorte, as besides a great number of them were taken, and the rest of them were slaine, the garde pryor of Lomberdie and *Marie de Saint Flour*, and sundry other of the Marquesse side remained there captiues. *Strossi* in the meane time beeing enforced to discampe seeing that there was no possibilitye of carrying awaye the place, by reason of the Marquesse his neighbourhoode, addressed himselfe to Foyanbelle,

Ciuitelle beesieged by the French.

a ſtrong and rich place, which *Carlot Vrſin* helde, who ſent the Marquiſſe worde, that hee was able to defend it but three dayes without ſuccours. But the aſſaulte was ſuch vppon the verye firſt daye, as *Carlot* and all his ſouldiours were put to the edge of the ſworde, and the place to fire and bloode. Heereupon the Marquiſſe beeing approched, the two armies paſſed certaine dayes in continualle skirmiſhes, fauourable ſometime to the one, and ſometimes to the other partie. And for that the French Artillerie greatlie annoyed the Imperials, who daye by day yeelded themſelues vnto *Stroſsi*, the reſt were retained by offer of a larger pay, eſpecially the King partie if they woulde retire: which ſome did, and had beene followed by ſundry other, had not *Stroſsi* playde a Counter knacke in preſenting more pay and fauour then the Marquiſſe. But drawing towardes Montpulcian, a number of Italians abandoned him, which greatly encouraged the Marquiſſe to charge him in this aduantage, which the better to auoide, *Stroſsi* purpoſing to retire himſelfe by the mountaines, ſent his Artillerie before for feare of looſing of it, thinking thorough the fauour of the mountaines and ryuers bordering about, to retarde the purſuite of the Marquiſſe. Who notwithſtanding preſſed him ſo neere as hauing ſtayed him betweene Martian, Luſignen, and Foyan Royall Citties well beaten with the Artillerie, and the Captaine *Bighet* an Italian, carrying *Stroſsi* his Colonell being followed by manye others, *Stroſsi* was in the ende conſtrained to turne his backe. And albeit that the Gaſcons and Zuizers ſtoode well vnto it, yet their raſhneſſe in going out of their forte to ſet vpon the Spanniards, and Flourentines, was no leſſe damageable, then the cowardlineſſe of thoſe which ranne awaie: for the Cauallerie turning head againſt them, they were all cut in peeces. The Colonels of the Zuizers and Almanes, *Clermont*, *Monbazon*, the Captaines *Blaiſe*, *Iean de Ville*, *François de Record*, *Agapite Tody*, and other to the number of three thouſand, and more then fiue hundred priſonners remained there, the ſecond daye of Auguſt, 1554. The reporte whereof was brought vnto the Kinge before Renti, to abate the ioye of his ſo fauourable a reencounter againſt the Emperour beeing himſelfe in perſon, thorough the ſorrowfull newes of ſo pittiefull a defeate. Manye which were hurt, and ſundrye other, retyred themſelues to Sienne, there to attend ſuch euent as the Imperialles ſhoulde bring thether, *Stroſsi* and *Aurele Fregoſe* abandoning *Foyan* gayned *Montalcin*, whether *Bighet* beeing come and the Earle of Elſe, who had cowardly yeelded vp Luſignen a ſtrong place, and furniſhed withall neceſſaries, they both had theyr heads ſtroken off. The Marquiſſe in the meane time hauing taken almoſt all the little places about Siene, encamped beefore the cheefe Cittie, reſolued, as hee aſſured the Emperour by his letters, not to depart thence, before it ſhoulde bee yeelded, during which ſiege, the Turkes came into Corſe, to the ſuccour of the French: eſpeciallye at the ſiege of Caluy, and Boniface. Afterwardes they returned pilling all the coaſt of Italie, to beſiege Piombin, and and the Ile of Elbe, which appertained to the Duke of Flourence. Paſsing on further they dyd infinite miſcheeſes in the kingdome of Naples, Sicilie, and Calabria, from whence they returned riche into Conſtantinople, without anye mannes ſeeking to hinder them, ſo great was the reciprocall hatred beerweene theſe Chriſtian Princes, that they chooſe rather to ruyne themſelues, then agreeing them altogether, to make warre to the profite and honour of all Chriſtendome.

A Captaine puniſhed for cowardly yeelding vp a place furniſhed.

Turkes come to the aide of the French ſacke all the coaſt of Italy

Now albeit that the endeuours of the Marquiſſe, and the ſolicitations of the Flourentine

Flourentine by letters, together with scarcitie of victuals, were very great occasions to mooue the Towne to yeelde, yet *Monluc* resolued vppon the pointe of honour, and the Sienois for the defence of theyr libertie, ceased not for all that to make verie faire salies vpon the Imperiall campe. An occasion that they battered it the more furiously, with the Artillerie which the Duke drew from the store of Florence. But the courage and resolution of the inhabitantes prouided no lesse for the breaches and ruines, which were most daungerous, then the paysants of the Countrie about for the necessitie of victualles, bringing into the Towne by all meanes which possibly they coulde inuent, to refreshe their Masters withall, albeit that the rigor of the Marquesse, caused manye to bee hanged in theyr view. Heervppon *Strossi* hoping somewhat of the death of Pope *Iuly*, an enemie to the French, and of the carriage of *Marcel* elected Pope, borne at Montalcin in Sienois, as I haue tolde you, besought him to succour his Citizens, and maintayne theyr auncient libertie. But as new come to the estate, and more giuen to Religion then to warre, no other aunswere coulde bee gotten of him, but Prayers to God to haue pittie on theyr fortune. Therefore seeing that *Monluc* whome hee had caused to goe see if he could leauie an armie at Montalcin, had done nothing for want of the money which the King had not sent vnto him, in the ende they addressed themselues to the Duke of Florence. By those meanes the Articles of the Sienois being reiected, the yeelding of the towne was in the end accorded vpon these termes,

Siene beseiged by the Imperials.

Pope Marcel more deuout then warrier.

Siene yeelded by Composition.

THat the Emperour shoulde take Siene vnder the protection of the holye Empire, and maintaine her in her liberties, and auncient franchises. That hee should pardon all such as had borne armes, except such as were banished, or thrust out of Naples, or any other the territories of the Emperour, Kinge Phillip, or the Duke of Flourence. That hee shoulde preserue the Sienois, in their rightes, franchises, honours, goods and dignities, as well mooueable, as vnmooueable, except what the souldier had already pilled. That it might bee lawfull for all such as woulde not remaine vnder his obedience, to departe without rawsome. That he shoulde put in what Garrison it pleased him, without making or building there anye Citadell, except it were with the consent of the Cittizens, but rather shoulde ruine such as were, the warre beeing once ended. That hee shoulde establish there such pollicie as hee woulde, alwaies the libertie and dignitie of the common wealth beeing preserued, and that the auncient Maiestrates might participate in anye matter of estate, and mannaging of newes. That it shoulde bee lawfull for all Captaines, Cheefes, Magistrates, Gouernours, and souldiers of what nation soeuer they were, beeing at Siene for the King of Fraunce to departe, their weapons and goods saued, with their drummes striken vp, and Ensignes displayed, together with their bagge baggage, traine, and Artillerie, to whome safe conduct shoulde bee giuen, and free passage thoroughout, vntill they shoulde bee arriued in their Princes territories. And if within eight dayes they dyd not except these conditions, that they shoulde no more looke to bee receiued into fauour.

But the ende carried matter which seemed much more grieuous vnto them: to witte that Siene must needes fall into the handes of the Duke of Florence. An occasion that the Souldiours beeyng alreadye departed in such order as is here aboue saide, were followed by the most part of the Cittizens,

Montalcin the retreate of the Sienois.

choosing rather to loose their goods then to be subiect to the Florentines whome they had in almost an irreconciliable hatred: in the end a great number of the best Citizens retired to Montalcin, there erecting the bodye and Senate of the Sienois Seigneurie, which they named the auncient Bailiwicke: by which they gouerned theyr estate and maintayned themselues in the same pollicie, which they had in the capitall Cittie. Afterwards they dispersed their Garrisons to Chinsi Roset, and other Townes of the Sienois helde by the French and their practisans. In the meane time, the Marquesse hauing sent the Earle Marie de Saint Flour, to besiege Satean, seated vpon the Clan, which hee enforced in the ende to yeelde to composition, went to besiege with the rest, the porte Hercule, whether the French Gallies retired themselues at the foote of the hill Argento, not farre from Orbitelle, vpon the coast of the *Thirrene* Seas which *De Termes* had to that ende fortified by the Kings commaundement. And albeit that it was resolutely defended, yet they within besieged, seeing themselues voide of any hope of succours, and all their water sayling, yeelded themselues, albeit that *Strosi* employed all the meanes he was able, to leauie men at Rome and elsewhere, to succour the besieged, who retyred to other places, whilst that the Marquisse ouerrunning the open Countrie, replenished all, with the feare of his armes. Shortly after notwithstanding, as *Ferdinande Gonzague* Lieutennant generall for the Emperour in Lomberdie, disapointed of his gouernment, retyred himselfe mal-content to Bruscelles, to render an accounte of his charge to the Emperour, this Marquisse likewise malcontented thorough the Duke of Alua sent as Lieutenant for the Emperour into Italy, & making *Dom Garzie de Toledo* his Lieutenant, discharging all matters without any whit of his priuitie, quitted the armie, and retired himselfe to his own home.

Satean taken.

Port of Hercule a road for the french Gallies surprised by the Marquisse.

Ferdinand Gonzague disapointed by the Emperour.

The Duke of Alua Lieutenant generall in Italy for the Emperour.

The Marquisse of Marignan malcõtent with the Duk of Alua, retyreth to his owne home.

Affaires of Piemont.

To ioyne the state of Piemont and Lombardie to the succesſe of Tuscane, I haue giuen you to vnderstand with what happe the desseins of the Marshall *Brissac* stoode accompanied: especiallie vppon the surprise of Cazal, one of the most importante places of the Countrie. So fortunate succesſe, as that it was accompanied with the dispite of the losse of Cazal and places rounde about. An occasion to mooue the Emperour (the treatie of peace beeing broken of which I tolde you) to sende the Duke of Alua into Piemont and Italy, as his Lieutenant generall, there to reassemble his forces, and hauing ioyned vnto them the troupes of the Duke of Florence and of the Marquisse of Marignan, (who disapointed of his charge was retyred as I shewed vnto you) to take afreshe new aduantages vppon the French, and driue them cleane out if it were possible. The Marshall notwithstanding beeing aduertised hereof, and of no hope: left of anie peace, the purparle whereof each one trained into length to hasten the premises of the warre, made a viewe ouer all his places, and prouided thereunto as was necessarie, afterwardes hee munitioned the fortes which he had reared about Vulpian, as well to famish it, and depriue it of all succour, as for feare of salies on his backe, whilst he himselfe made head vnto the D. of Alua, who put himselfe into the fielde about the end of Iuly, with twentie thousand men, as well Spanniardes as Almanes and Italians, six thousand horse of Ordinance, and light Cauallerie, and thirtie peeces of great and small artillerie. Whereupon the Marquisse not being able to answere him in great, retyred all his forces, which from the month of Iune had bene in the fielde, in number of ten thousand Suizers, French and Almanes, with two thousand horse of all sorts, fower Cannons, and two Culuerines, about Vulpian: & fortefied himselfe neere vnto Cazal, which he feared would

bee

bee assaulted and attending such succours as he had written vnto the King woulde be necessarie for him, he prepared himselfe to all euents. The Duke notwithstanding making shew as though he had ment for Cazal, tooke Farcinet du Pau, a smal Castle three miles from thence: where thinking to bring all vnder his subiection in a few monethes, thorough the astonishment of a crueltie neuer before practised, among such as vntill then had made faire warre one vppon another, he caused the Captaine to be hanged, the French to be put into the Galleies, and the Italians to be cut in peeces. Afterwards the Capitane *La Trinite*, commaunding at Valle Feniere, went out by his commaundement with three hundred horse, and fower hundred footmen to discouer, but being charged by certaine French Cauallerie, hee was constrained to leaue behinde him a good part of his companie to the butcherie, to retire himselfe into Ast, and *Alexandria*. An occasion that the D. hauing attempted all the places, where he might make the first proofe of his fresh armie, resolued whilst his forces remained yet entire, and that he had time and leasure, no succours being yet come out of Fraunce, to victuall *Vulpian* with his prouisions already which hee within two daies thrust, into the place, about the end of Iuly. Afterwardes he besieged Saint Iaco, whereof hee supposed the fortification to be vnperfect, and the rather for that it was new woulde hardly endure the Cannon. But finding it in other case then hee thought for, vnder *Bonnet* Colonel of the French fanterie, and *Ludouic de Birague*, accompanied with two thousand French, and two Ensignes of the regiment of compt *Roquendolfe Almene*, two of Italians, and one hundred light horse of Albanoie, vnder *Theodore Beddaine*, albeit that by the space of three weekes together hee had beaten to the ground a great parte of their fortifications, without any assault, he well knew in the ende by the salies and resolute reencounters of the besieged, that it was no easie matter, to enforce them: Iointe the comming of the Dukes D'Aumalle, D'Anguyen, De Conde, De Neuers, De Nemours, *Vidasme de Chartres*, *Gonor*, and other followed with ten thousand men, which the King had sent to reskew the place, animate his partakers, and coole the enemies of his Maiestie. The gnerall whereof, abating his courrage in the verye eye of the French, who vnited altogether put themselues into the fielde to giue him battell, quitted Saint Iaco, leauing the great master of the artillerie, and well fifteene hundred men dead there at the siege, to drawe to Versel, taking notwithstanding certaine Castles, which hee ruined, except Gabiano, and Bourg Saint Martine, fower miles from Cazal. This departure beeing knowne by the Duke *D'Aumalle*, reiecting their aduise which councelled him to follow the enemie, fering the inconueniences which had at other times fallen out to such as too violently pursued their fortune, ioynte that the whole action was left to his discretion, he resolued to besiege Vulpian, to deliuer the countrie of the feare of this noysome garrison. So vppon the ende of August, two and twentie thousand, as well French, as Almanes, Zuizers, and Italians, eight hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred light horse, were encamped about it, closing it so straightly in, as *Emmanuel de La Lune*, sent thither by the Duke of Alua, to make fiue hundred harquebusiers on horse backe, Spanish and Italians, to enter in, had no sooner passed the Pau, but hee was surprised and defeated by *La Roche-Pozay* of Poiton, who tarried close for him, suffering verye fewe of them to enter into the succour of the besieged. But the place beeing battered without ceasing veryfuriously, for the space of fower and twentye dayes, towardes the Mille, with fower greate Cannons, vnder the assurance of the Suizers, and with fiue other betweene the Towne and

The first exploits of the D. of Alua rigorous to astonish them of the countrie.

Vulpian victualed by the D. of Alua.

Saint Iaco besieged, battered, & left by the Imperials.

The D. of Alua retreth.

vulpian besieged battered and assaulted yeeldeth to composition.

the Castle by the French campe, and then on the side of the great bulwarke towards the Castle with fower other, it was in such sorte shaken, as the mines trayned vnder the great bulwarke, which flanquered the towne and the Castle, being ready, and opening at the very instant of the assault, caused the innermost part of the bulwarke to flie vp, where there was so large an ouerture made, as the Spanniards and the French, hauing long time in throng bickered together, shaddowed with such a darksomnes but in the end cleared, as perceiuing the besieged to be at the mercie of the assailants, they quitted all the bulwarke except such as yeelded themselues. But the rest not able to enter into the Castle, fearing least to saue some the place and rest of the garrison might be lost, were for the most part cut in peeces. Among which was a Nephew of the Duke of Aluaes. But *Sigesmond Gonzague*, and the Capitane *Lazare* Lieutenant of the garde to the Duke of Alua, and sundrie other remained prisoners. The other breach was better defended, for that hauing passed the vp diche in water to the gerdle, they were faine to clyme and grapple vp with ladders, and armors to heauie to carrie. Albeit that the Prince of Anguyen, and of Conde, were there present for example to the rest of the youth. So as many French men remained there dead, and the Earle of Creance so sore hurt, as hee could not escape. But as soone as the generall had caused fower Cannons to bee placed vpon the rest of the bulwarke to batter the hinderpart of the breach, and play alongst the streetes of the towne, the required parlie was accorded and afterwardes concluded, that they should depart in men of warre, Ensignes displayed, drummes stroken vp, goods saued, and safely conducted as far as the riuer of Drie neere vnto Train, al the munition remaining in the place: fower & twenty howers after the Capitane of the Castle yeelded vpō the same conditions, sauing that it was reserued vnto him for his more honour and iustificaon to his generall, that they shoulde shoote fiftie Cannon shot against the Castle. At this accord, and yeelding of the place, the Marshall was present, about the ende of September, who for many occasions refused to bee at the beginning of the siege. Afterwardes the place being as soone dismembred, and vnfurnished of all her fortifications, of a faire towne of warre there was made a countrie borrough. This done, the armie coasting all alongst the strong places which the Imperials held vppon the waie of Pont d'esture (which they thought best to take before the duke should haue finished his fortifications, being determined therby to make head to those of Cazal, and stop the way to the French from Cazal to Turin) skirmished with such as sailed forth of Trin and Crescentin. Afterwards the encamped at Velleneusue neere Cazal, where knowing that the garrison of Pont d'esture was lodged euen to the skirts of it, to wearie the French, and in the meane time prouide for the rest of the places. Automne being already farre entred, and the discommoditie of winter, they turned to Montcaluo, which lying close by Pont d'Esture, suspected nought. The which being taken, brideled Pont d'Esture, and the rest of the places vpon the Pan, as farre as the plaine of the Marquisat of Montferrat: spreading ouer besides all the bounds of Cazal. Therefore the Cauallerie entertaining a hot reprisall of skirmish vpon such as salied out of Pont d'Esture, to couer the dismarch of the fanterie and artillerie, which they carried for the batterie of Montcaluo, as soone surprised as scaled thorough so sodaine arriuall, it caused the Imperials to thinke, that they had great intelligences therein. And immediately the approches beeing made with the furie of the Cannon aboue twentie dayes together vppon the great portall of the Castle which defended one of the flankers, to breake the defences and disarme it, it was no

no sooner endammaged, the mine hauing opened the bulwarke which made the other flancke, but they tooke it to compolition, goods saued; the Ensigne displaied, with one peece of artillery, three bullets, and three shot of powder; but all the artillery which was found there dismounted, remained. The 17. of October the principallest of them being retired to Pont d'esture, were hanged for yeelding vp so slightly without any assault, the army still remaining about vntill the place was fully repaired. Afterwards the winter approching, the two armies were dispersed into garrisons, who did no great matter worthy to be marked afterwards, except it were a running at the tilte with sharp lances, between foure French men, to wit, the D. of Nemours, *De Clasie* eldest sonne of *Vasie*, the Captaine *Manes Rochepozay* his Lieutenant, and the Captaine *Moucha* Ensigne to *Pinars* against the Marquesse of Pescaire, the Marquesse of Malespine, *Dom Albe* a Spanish Captaine, and the Earle *Charaffe* a Neapolitain, Nephew to the Pope: *De Clasie* and the Captaine *Manes* were so sore hurt in the necke, that they died within fewe daies after: the Earle *Caraffe* was pearced cleane through, and died in the place, the rest returned without any mischaunce. Moreouer, as the Marshall *Brissac* seeing the Winter to come on, caused his Souldiers to retyre into the Townes, hauing prouided for the victualling and Garrison of Montcaluo, vpon the retreate of their companies to their lodginges: it happened about the twentith of Nouember, that *Clermontes* company retyring towards Cazal, where he was appointed to Garrison, was surprised by the Marquesse of Pescaire, followed with three hundred Harquebusiers, and eight hundred light horse, which straight put them to flight, all their baggage remaining behinde, with fiue and twenty or thirty prisonners, the rest saued themselues within Casal. In reuenge whereof, the eight day of December the Captaine *Saluoisin* being aduertised, how not farre from him there were two companies of Italian light horse, departed speedily with a good troupe, marching all the night, and in the morning entred into the village, euen as the Italians were at breakfast, whome he discomfited and vtterly defeated, by the death of two of their cheefe Lieutenants, and well three score other, the rest remayning prisonners in the French mens handes, who carryed with them more then three score horse, and a great quantity of armour. Thus they disturbed one anothers rest in Piemont, where we will leaue them, to handle againe the renewed trauailes of the French and Imperials in Picardie.

Montcaluo taken.

Certain captains hanged for so slightly yeelding.

Combat at the sharpe betweene 4. French, and as many Spaniards and Italians.

Surprises of certain companies in Piement.

The Imperial army remaining onely but for the fauour and defence of the forces of Giuets, and *Philippe Ville* against those of Mariembourg, Rocroy, and Mauber fontaine, passed away the time of warre without other fruit, aduancing the worke, notwithstanding the most that the Ligeois and Nauarrois was able better acquainted with the nourriture and tedious aboade of the troupes then all the other, the rest of the Imperials remaining to weary the Garrisons, and to put the King to charge in entertaining of them, and consume the victuall of the Country, making account that Winter being come, it would be very hard for him to recouer, and more hard to put in any more, hoping thereby to close them in and famishe them, or at the least they promised themselues what aduantage they would desire, ouer those that would victuall them anew: an occasion that the D. of Neuers resolued, while time serued to make a generall victualling, especially at Mariembourg: but the time being consumed in *Sansac* his taking of Emery Castle, who was gouernour of Metz in the absence of the Marshall *Vieilleuille*, (which had beene surprised by the Captaine *Beauieu* of the Imperiall Garrison at Theonuille:) Ioynt that the Admiral was not able to bring his men vntill the end of October, and likewise the great difficultie to get waggons and

Desseins of the Imperial army.

cariages

cariages, which the labourers of Champagne and Retelet wearied with their paines already paſſed, refuſed whileſt that their tillage was to doe, was an occaſion that they marched not vntill the 30. of October, that the Admirall went to lodge at Rocroye, with the Vantgarde of fiue hundred men at armes, and ſome companies of French, hauing *Sanſac* and *Bourdillon* for auant-couriers with the light cauallerie, three hundred Harquebuſiers on foote, and one Regiment of men at armes to ſupporte them, marching all the night, to viewe the woods and giue their aduice, notwithſtanding the great raines and extreame cold, which ſo benummed the men, and eſpecially the draught horſes, that it was impoſsible, for many waggons turned topſie turuie, and broken, to reach but from Maubert fontaine to Rocroy, things not hauing bin made ready in their time and ſeaſon. Afterwardes there arriued the Duke of Neuers with twenty Enſignes of Almanes, conducted by the *Reingraue*: and for that reporte was brought, how the Prince of Orange taried them in places very auantagious to ſtop their paſſage with his Fantery, aſsiſted with his horſe men and Reiſters, they cauſed not the whole company to aduance forward, for feare of being encloſed in, albeit that *Sanſac* did ſince aſſure, how the enemy had no ſuch matter in hand: an occaſion that there entred but twenty waggons with Wine and Meale. So the laſt day of October the army was deuided into quarters, in the ſight of the Garriſon, but ſo pittifully handled with colde, haile, and froſtes, that many of the Sentinels were frozen to death, one league and a halfe from the Imperials, being encamped on the ſide of a Mountaine, betweene Sautour and Philippeville. But the firſt of Nouember they ſent out certaine companies to ſeaze the paſſage, and ſtreaſſe the victualers, in whoſe fauour they ſent thither a number of companies to reskew them, and conduct them to the Campe: and there were ſeene two notable chances, the one, how a Spaniſh double reall or twelue pennie peece ſaued a Souldiers life, who had a Harquebuze ſhot but ſixe paces of, without any harme, being notwithſtanding priſonner, he was ſent back againe with mony in his purſſe, by the Duke of Neuers, to carrye newes to the campe, how he alone was eſcaped of all the company: the other, a French Souldier ſeeing his brother to be taken by the Imperials, laid about him ſo luſtely againſt thirtie which helde him, that he brought him away ſound and ſafe. In ſuch and like reencounters and skirmiſhes there paſſed 8. daies in great neceſsitie of victuals, and maruelous diſcommodities of the ayre, before Mariembourg: vntill that almoſt all the waggons and carriages were entred in. Then they retired themſelues to the garriſons neere at hand, as alſo the Prince of Orenge to Bruxels to the Emperor, hauing ſufficiently prouided for Philippeuille and Charlemont.

A notable accident.

The part of a Brother.

To enter againe into the eſtate of Almane, *Ferdinande* K. of Bohemia, aſsigned in that time in the name of the Emperour, a diet at Ausbourg of the eſtates of Almane, to accorde about the point of Religion, and prouide as well for the neceſsities of the Empire, as the particular of each one the yeare 1555. The Proteſtant Princes ſent thither their Embaſſadors, ſhewing that they held with the confeſsion of Ausbourg, according to which if they would giue them ſuretie, they would contribute to all reaſonable charges. Hereupon *Auguſt* Duke of Saxe, and elector by the deceaſe of his Brother the D. *Maurice* (whom the Piſtoll ſhot which hee receaued the daye of the battaile againſt the Marqueſſe *Albert*, cauſed to dye, as elſewhere I haue tolde you) and *Ioachim* Marqueſſe of Brandebourg electors, the Sonnes of *Iean Frederic*, the *Lantgraue*, and ſome other Princes neighbours about, aſſembled at Numbourg, vpon the Riuer Solo, and there renewed the alliance which is hereditaire betweene the houſes of Saxe and Heſſe. And vpon that they concluded, conſtantly to ſtick to

the

the confeſsion of Ausbourg. But fearing leaſt ſome ſuſpition might growe of any new and ſecret enterpriſe, the fift day of their aſſemblie, they wrote the cauſe therof vnto the Emperor, inſiſting vpon the article of the treatie of Paſſau, where the peace was concluded as I haue ſhewed vnto you: and proteſting that in all thinges they ſought the repoſe of Almanie, they propoſed the confeſsion of Ausbourg, exhorting euery one to a generall quiet, and beſeeching that hee would not beleeue any which perhaps ſought to trouble the tranquility of the Empire. The K. *Ferdinande* had propoſed vpon the fifth day of February, ſuch matters as were to be entreated of; but for that many came ſo ſlackely thither, they began not vntill the 7. of March. Then the Deputies of the Princes Electors conſulted of the byls, and againſt the aduiſe of many, they all conſented in the end, to begin with the point of religion. The like was concluded in the councel of the Princes and townes. After a long debate it was agreede that they ſhould leaue religion in peace; but they differed, in that the aſſociates of the confeſsion of Ausbourg, would haue it to be indifferently permitted to all kinde of men to follow their doctrine, and that they might likewiſe be partakers of the benefit of the peace. The other ſide ſtronglye withſtoode that, alleadging that that ought not to be permitted to any Townes, which ſince ſeauen yeares had receaued the decree made at Ausbourg touching religion, nor to any eccleſiaſticall perſon. And in caſe that a Biſhop or Abbot ſhould change his religion, they would haue him depriued of his place, and another put into his roome. They of the confeſsion of Ausbourg alleadged, that the diuine promiſes as wel of the olde as new Teſtament, in which our ſaluation is contained, appertained to all men in generall; by meanes whereof it was not lawfull for them to curtall or ſtraighten them, for feare of ſhutting both themſelues and others out of the kingdome of heauen. There was neither Iewe nor Turk, were he neuer ſo little affectionate to his religion, but would wiſh to drawe the whole worlde vnto it: how much more ought we to be thus encouraged, ſeeing we haue an expreſſe commandement from God for the ſame: it muſt needs be then that all remaine in their libertie. Notwithſtanding, to gain peace, they permitted vnto them that they ſhould keepe their faſhions and ceremonies, vſe and enioy all their goods, poſſeſſions, cuſtomes, rightes and priuiledges, vntil the differente of religion ſhould be determined. But they would not allow the ſame condition to be preſcribed vnto Biſhops, for thereby it might growe that they ſhould be bound to make warre againſt their allies of the ſame religion, and with great diſhonour condemne their own cauſe, for it were as much as to confeſſe, ſaid they, that our doctrine and religion were not worthy of eccleſiaſticall goods, and that vntill this day ſuch goods had bene vniuſtly beſtowed vpon our Churches & Miniſters. Moreouer, we ſhould confeſſe the Papiſts doctrine to be holy, and their miniſterye grounded vpon the word of God, and that their goods were iuſtly deuoted to their order, life, ſtatutes, and ceremonies: and what a ſcandall would it growe, if we ſhould defend their cauſe and goods, which ſerue to no end in the Church, and contrariwiſe we ſhould betray them whome we ought to holde in ſingular recommendation, by reaſon of the ſame religion. The Catholiques alleadged other reaſons, that if it ſhuld be lawfull for eccleſiaſticall perſons to change religion, within a while Biſhops, and like chapitres would be prophaned, and being cut of from the Churches, would fall into the Princes hands, and ſo remaine vnto them as an heritage: to which they anſwered that there was neuer any ſuch matter meant, but that their entent was to reduce things to their firſt inſtitution, and appropriate them to their true vſages, annexing the goods for euer vnto the Churches; and to take away all doubt, they promiſed

sed to giue caution that no goods of Bishops or chaptres should be aliened, in case their religion should be changed; prouided that after the decease or resignation of the Bishop or superiour, the election and administration should be left free to them of the Colledge. Now after many differents of the one parte, and other as well by wrighting as by speeche, there was in the end agreede and enacted, the fiue & twentith of September, and read in publique audience, according to the custome, such decree as followeth: the which being well obserued, hath maintained the Empire and the Almanes in good peace, vntill this present.

The decree of Ausbourg.

THat the Emperour, the K. Ferdinande, and the rest of the Princes and estates, should doe no wrong to any of the Empire, in case whatsoeuer: in respect of the doctrine of the confession of Ausbourg, concerning the point of Religion and faith receiued: nor hereafter compel by their commandements or other meanes, those which were confederate in the saide confession, to abandon their religion, ceremonies and lawes, instituted by them within their territories, or to be instituted hereafter: especially that they haue not their religion in contempt, but leaue them free with their goods, enheritances, customes, possessions, and all other righties: so as they may peaceably holde them. That the different of religion be no otherwise determined, but by holye, amiable, and peaceable meanes. They of the confession of Ausbourg, shall in like sort behaue themselues towardes the Emperour, the K. Ferdinande, and the rest of the Princes and estates, addicted to the ancient religion, whether Ecclesiastical or Temporall; and towardes all other of the Church, and towards their collegues into what part soeuer they shall retire to inhabite: prouided that they acquite themselues of their ministerie as hereafter shall be declared. To all these they shall permitte in libertie, their religion and ceremonies their lawes, possessions, tributes and other rights, and no man shall hinder their enioying of the same. That if any suites or processe shall fall out, they shall be determined both of the one side and the other, according to the customes and lawes of the Empire. They which are neither of the one nor the other religion, are not to be comprehended within this peace. If any Archb. Bishop, Prelate, or other ecclesiasticall person doe renounce the auncient religion, that he quit his Bysbopricke, Prelature Benefice and together there with all the fruites, which he hath receaued: which notwithstanding shal not any waies turne to his disbonour or infamie, But the chapitre or they to whome it appertaineth by custome or right shall haue power to substitute another in his roome, so as hee be of the auncient Religion. To the ende that the rightes of institutions, election, presentation, may remaine with the entire possession of their goods, vppon conditon notwithstanding that in anye respect thereof anie future accorde of religion wherof it hath beene spoken, be not anie waies impaired. And for so much as certaine estates of the Empire, and their ancetours haue vsurped certaine prouostships, monasteries, and like goods, appertaining to the Church, which they haue appropriated to their ecclesiasticall ministeries, Schooles, and other holy vses: that by no meanes they be disquieted for that, nor called into any courte of iustice, but that all such goods shall remaine in their order: to wit, all such as did not appertaine to the estates of the Empire, or to any other Subiect to the Empire, whereof the Clergie were not in possession at the time of the transaction of Passau, nor after. And that it be not permitted to the Iuges of the Chamber, to proceede by law, or cõmence any sutes against them, or decide any thing, by reason of any such goods so vsurped or aliened. That the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction be not exercised, nor take place against the Leaguers in the confession of Ausbourg, against their religion, faith, ceremonies, lawes by ecclesiasticall ministeries, but that she haue therin her hands bound, not doing vnto them any disturbance, vntil that the different shuld be apeased. In other matters not appertaining to their religion,

Religion, ceremonies, lawes, and miniſteries, that they carrie themſelues according to the auncient right, and cuſtome of the Countrie. Further that all Eccleſiaſticall perſons enioye their goods entirely, their reuennes and other rights: prouided notwithſtanding that they in whoſe ſeigneurie ſuch goods are, looſe nothing of ſuch politique right as they had before the diſcorde of Religion. Moreouer that out of ſuch goods they ordaine and maintaine, as heretofore it hath alreaay beene eſtabliſhed, the neceſſarie miniſteries, Pariſhes, Schooles, Almes houſes and Hoſpitals for the poore afflicted, without any regard of what Religion they bee, for whoſe vſe ſuccour, and nouriſhment they be ordained. If for this nouriſhment, and quantitie thereof, there ſhould ariſe any ſtrife or debate, then arbitrators ſhall bee choſen by the conſent of the parties, who after enquirie made thereof, ſhall determine within ſix monethes, how much ſhould bee ſequeſtred to the vſe of ſuch miniſteries. During the hanging of which proceſſe, they to whom it doth appertaine to giue aide, and contribute to ſuch vſances, ſhall not bee diſturbed in their poſſeſſion, but onely ſhall contribute as they were wont in olde time, vntill the ſucceſſe ſhall bee determined.

Now if the Almanes were willing by theſe meanes to maintaine themſelues in peace, the French Chatholiques ſeemed to be more and more animated towardes the reſearch and curious purſuite of ſuch as they tearmed reformed.

The K. of Fraunce, ſtirred vp by his fauorites, had made an Edict, by which it was commaunded to all Iudges, to puniſh without delay according to the exigence of the caſe, ſuch as ſhould bee condemned by the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges and inquiſitors of the faith, without any waies deferring vpon any appeales. Afterwards it was ſent to the Parliament of Paris, to the ende it ſhould bee there read, and publiſhed, and after publication enregiſtred in the Grefferie, and proclaimed according to the cuſtome. They of the Courte finding it ſtrange, that the ſuccour, and laſt refuge to the miſerable, ſhould bee denied to the condemned, demaunded a time of aduice, and afterwards on the ſix & twentie day of October, 1555. they ſent deputies of their body vnto the King, to informe him of their opinion, and take in good part the remonſtrances which followe, the which they ſent vnto him at ſuch time as the Cardinals of Lorraine and of Turnon were gone to Rome.

By your owne Edict (Sire) fower yeares ſince, you haue reſerued to your ſelfe and your Iudges the entire connoiſſance and puniſhment of the Lutherane hereſie, without any exception, ſauing that hereſie required ſome declaration, ere that ſentence ſhould be giuen vpon thoſe that had receiued holy orders. In preſent the Edict whereof the queſtion groweth, ordaineth meerely the contrarie: for it ſubiecteth the people to the iudgment of the Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and of the inquiſitors. In which they diminiſh your dignitie wherein you ſurpaſſe all other Princes, & giue iuſt occaſion to the people to grieue, to ſee themſelues abandoned from you, and made ſubiect to the power of another. But yet the diſpleaſure much more aboundeth, when without the ſuccour of appeale, all their goods, their life and their honour, ſhall be in the power of the ſaide Eccleſiaſticall perſons. For without doubt appeale is the refuge and ſafegarde of innocencie: you are the tutor and protector, as well of the appeale, as of the innocents and ſo is there none but you which hath power ouer the people. Now if authoritie be giuen to the inquiſitors and officers of Biſhops, to iudge without appeale, it ſhall bee as much as to open a window, and beate a path, for to condemne the innocent, and make them to looſe both body and goods. Iointe, that the iudges of Churches ſeeing themſelues in ſuch authoritie and Royall credit, will forget their dutie, & not keepe within their bounds, ſeeing all eſtates ſubiect vnto them, and managing them at their owne poſt, wil not only leaue to regarde the vulgar ſort, but will carrie no reſpect at all to Princes. It lyeth for all that in you, if it pleaſe you thus to meditate theſe matters. To wit that your Iudges take cognoiſſance of the cauſes, and therein giue ſentence, and if there be found any

Appeale of the laſt refuge of the condemned, and ſafegarde of innocencie.

doubtfull

doubtfull Article or opinion, that then Eccleſiaſticall perſons may giue reſolution. Likewiſe that ſuch as haue receiued orders be iudged by their Iudges. As touching appeales, that commiſſion may be obtained at the Popes hands, whereby it may bee permitted vnto the ſubiectes, and in caſe it ſhall fall out, that ſentence muſt be giuen of ſuch as ſhall be appelants, that therin they take ſome of your Eccleſiaſticall Councellors, ſuch as ſhall be choſen, or for default of them ſome other notable and ſufficient perſonages. In regard of the inquiſition that it be obſerued, to haue the Popes inquiſitor deputed vnder him thoroughout all prouinces, to be men of good renowme and of entire life. And that the Biſhop be at the charge, and not the accuſed, vpon condition notwithſtanding that the proceſſe being ended, the charges be recouered of thoſe to whom it appertaineth. Theſe things are proper to bound in and encloſe ſuch proceſſe within certaine limits. Moreouer for that it appeareth that by the puniſhments of Heretiques, how neceſſarie ſoeuer they be, they haue not amended them vntill this preſent, but onely it hath beene ſhewed thereby how deteſtable the thing is, and further for that it is farre better to preuent a ſickeneſſe, then to giue it leaſure to grow, and afterwardes apply a remedie, you muſt herein (moſt gracious Prince) follow the cuſtomes and pathes of the primitiue and auncient Church: for ſhee was not eſtabliſhed either by ſword or fire, but the diligence of Biſhoppes hath alwaies reſiſted againſt Heretiques; becauſe that they alwaies inſiſted to preach the word of God, & ſhew good example in their life. Conſidering then how the Church was by this meanes confirmed, there is no doubt but ſhee would ſtill be able to maintaine and countergarde her ſelfe, if you woulde therein vſe your power, cauſing Biſhops and Paſtors in their owne perſons to gouerne their Churches, and likewiſe all inferiour miniſters. That they liue holily, and teach the word of God or cauſe it to be taught by perſons fit. And that hereafter the charge of Churches be not giuen but to men able of themſelues to teach, without ſubſtituting Vicars in their roomes. This is the roote, whereunto the hand muſt be put, this is the foundation vpon which the building muſt be framed: for by this meanes there is hope that hereſies will by little and little vaniſh away. But if no account be made of following this courſe, there is danger that hereſies will encreaſe more and more, what Edict ſoeuer can be made or remedies vſed to the contrarie.

In ſumme, few of the Lordes of the priuie Councell remaining there, which would any waies contrarie the ſame, the Edict which I will ſpeake of elſe where, was engroſſed, in the end cõcluded, and after publiſhed thoroughout the whole Realm, to the contentment of ſome, and diſpleaſure of many other.

Charles 5. Emperour yeeldeth vp all his eſtates and retireth into Spaine to liue priuately.

In this ſame time *Charles* of Auſtria, Emperour of the Romanes, tyred with the enterpriſe of humane actions, no leſſe then preſſed with his particular inconueniences, reſolued to put end thereunto. So that as well to appeaſe the violence of his Goutes, feeblenes of ſtomacke, megromes, head ach, and an infinite of other diſeaſes which day by day diminiſhed his naturall ſtrength, as to ſee the inconſtancie of mundane accidents and ſmall aſſurance in the faireſt deſſeins of man, good fortune the compagnion of manie his actions hauing bene often times enterlaced by the encounter of ſome Signal deſaſtre. Iointe the preſages of *Veſalius* his Phiſition, and other vpon the breuitie of his daies, he determined to exchange a publique life, vntill then reaſonable well gouerned, with a particular and ſolitarie, which rather carryed a Religious deuotion, then any mundane managing. Therefore hauing from the moneth of September cauſed his ſonne *Phillip* King of England, to come vnto him, to whome for ſixe weakes together, he communicated his moſt important affaires, and the meanes which he ought to holde in the gouerment of his eſtates, hee cauſed the generall eſtates of all his low Countries to bee aſſembled at Bruxelles, where hee declared the indiſpoſition of his perſon, the good they had receiued from himſelfe, and the fauour which they might receiue from his ſonne whome as

then

then rising out of his chayre, and kneeling barehead before and ouer against the Emperour, putting his hand vpon his head, he inuested in all his patrimoniall goodes, & hauing recommended vnto him Religion & Iustice, he gaue him his blessing. Then the Prince ryseu vp, and due reuerence made vnto his Father, and Queene *Mary* his Aunt, in the ende turning vnto the people, thanked God for his present aduantages, besought him to assist him in all his actions to come, rendred thanks vnto the Emperour for the care he had of his person from his first age vntill that day, & vnto the people for the acceptaunce they had made of him, assuring them of so good a gouernement, as they should not haue cause to repent themselues of this happe and consent. Afterwardes Queene *Marye* dowager of Hungarie, Gouernesse of the Lowe countries seeing the teares trickle downe the graye bearde of the Emperour, his pale and earthly face, rose vp to declare vnto the people, that for thirteene yeeres together, while her charge endured which shee had receyued from the Ceasareal, and she had employed all the meanes which God had lente vnto her, to acquitte her selfe of her duetie, that if any faulte happened, it was vnwitting, and not of any her malice; for which shee besought all them to pardon her, assuring her selfe that her brother the Emperour rested contente. This done, the Emperour publiquely acquited all his Subiectes, of their oathes made vnto him, and rising out of his Throane, caused his Sonne to sitte therein, who presently receyued the homages and oathes of all his Vassalles. Afterwardes all the first Seales of *Charles* were broken in pieces, and in their place King *Philips* were brought, wherewith there were presentlye sealed certayne pardons and other dispatches. Thus did hee dissease himselfe of all his goodes and estates, to leade a peaceable life in a house of pleasure, which hee had builded in Castilia, called *Iust*, reseruing onely to himselfe the vsufruite of Castilia, and the superintendaunce of all the commaundaries. Afterwardes, by his gratious Letters to the Electours and Princes of Germanie, he besought them to reconcile themselues together, vnfoulding vnto them the small occasion which they had to quarrell one with another, aduertising them of his purpose to passe into Spayne, and howe he had resigned the Empire into their handes, counselling and beseeching them to chuse his brother the King of the Romanes, whome they knewe to bee of desarte and age. Fearing least if some younge Emperour shoulde bee chosen, hee woulde encrease the warres among the Christians, (a fitte ouerture to the Turkes to empayre Christendome) especially vpon his neareste neyghbours.

Mary Q. of Hungarie Gouernesse of the Lowe Countries.

Grace & sweetenesse the first actions of Princes.

In the ende, hee recommended vnto them his Sonne, beseeching them, that if euer hee had done any matter of woorth for them and their Countrey, they woulde acknowledge it in the behalfe of his Sonne, who beeyng charged with great affayres, had neede of his friendes assistaunce. At the least, that they woulde not bee contrary vnto him, though some particularities might rume them from ayding of him. Hee sent likewise *Stuler* a doctour to his brother *Ferdinande*, to yeelde ouer vnto him on his parte all the charges of the Empire, beseeching him to reconcile the Princes one to another, in which the staye and encrease of the Empire wholly consisted, the true and neareste cause of the ruyne thereof proceeding from diuision. Then that hee woulde yeelde all ayde to his Sonne *Philip*, as a neyghbour to such an enemye as the King of Fraunce was. In the ende, beeyng determyned to departe, hee was stayed thourough the vyolence of his diseases, contrarieties of windes, long stays in the preparation of his Shippes, and thourough a difference fallen out in some of the

townes, which would by no meanes receyue his ſonne, the father liuing, and other which woulde haue his nephewe *Ferdinande* ſeconde ſonne to the King of Romanes for their gouernour. Ioint the malecontentment of a number of Lordes, and other, who hauing employed all their meanes, and often times their life in his ſeruice, vnder a hope of great recompence, ſawe themſelues by this his dimiſſion, and departure into Spaine, fruſtrated of all their hope, which they coulde not hope for at his ſonnes handes, who as ordinarily newe Kinges affecte newe ſeruauntes, woulde employe his meanes but to the aduauncement of his fauourites, or in recompencing their paines and ſeruice towardes him, of whome himſelfe had beene an eye witneſſe.

About the ende of Nouember, *Ferdinande* King of Romanes, hauing aſſembled together the greateſt parte of his men of warre, wente downe the Danube as farre as Vienne, to make head againſt the Turke, who made great preparation for his deſcente into Hungarie, to beſiege agayne Vienne in Auſtria as I will ſhewe you.

To open vnto you the affayres and chaunges of the Realme of Englande in fewe woordes: *Henry* the eyghte, diſcontented in that he had no other heyre but *Mary* borne of *Katherine*, aunte vnto the Emperour, whome his brother *Arthur* had marryed at the age of foureteene yeeres, and lefte her a Virgine, by the aduice of the Cardinall of Yorke, and many dyuines as well Frenche, as Almaines and Engliſh, diuorced her, and hauing in full aſſemblie declared his daughter *Marye* illegitimate, marryed *Anne Bullen*, one of his wifes maydes: the which Pope *Clemente* the ſeuenth ſo hardly coulde digeſt, as that he condemned this diuorce, as vniuſt, and of euill example, eſpecially for that *Anne* was a Lutherane, and he feared leaſt the King and all his Realme woulde conforme them ſelues to the like religion. Whereat *Henrye* tooke ſuch diſdayne, as hee declared himſelfe head of the Church thorough out all Englande, with forbidding any to aduowe the Pope for head, or to tranſporte any money to Rome, or paye Peterpence, a reuennewe which euerye houſe yearely payde according to the ordynaunce of *Ina* in the yeere ſeuen hundred and fourtie. Whereupon there enſued a great alteration of Religion thorough out the whole Realme, ſo confirmed by *Edwarde* his ſonne, as that the catholique was cleane baniſhed out of Englande, at the leaſt in publique, which cauſed many Engliſhe men to flye the Realme, to ſeeke in ſome other Countrey a place of more free conſcience. Seeyng that the Dukes of Sommerſet and Northumberlande gouerned the roaſte in the yeere 1553. Notwithſtanding as after the death of the Duke of Sommerſet, the Duke of Northumberlande (ſeeyng howe the King was fallen ſicke of a Fluxe, which fell into his ſtomache from the moneth of Februarie) had marryed his ſonne *Guilforde* to *Iane* daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, and couſin vnto the ſicke King, hee wrought ſo much, as that the young King reiecting his ſiſters *Marye* and *Elizabeth*, declared for his heyre, and Inheritrice vnto the Crowne of Englande, this *Iane* of Suffolke, to the ende that by this meanes hee mought traunſferre the Royaltie into his owne Houſe, and diſinherite the true Heyres of their righte, and legitimate Succeſſion. This Marriage and Teſtamentarie declaration beeyng done in the moneth of May gaue occaſion to a number, to thinke that this young King, whome they helde for the piller of men of knowledge, and gaue great hope of future vertue, was poyſoned, and that beeing aſſured of the time of his death, they had cauſed him to doe whatſoeuer they woulde haue him: well, were it of poyſon or of a Catarre, ſo it is, that *Edwarde* the ſixte of that name,

name, and the one and fourtie K. of England, dyed the sixt day of Iuly, the seuenth yeere of his Raigne, and the sixteenth of his age, solemly entered at Westminster, not without the teares of his subiects, who saide that his death was presaged by a Comet which appeared a little before his departure, and by the great stormes, windes, tempests, and thunders, which had that yeere tormented London the chiefe Cittie of the Realme, as the witnesses of such troubles as shortly after ensued in England: for the people hating in secrete this Duke of Northumberland, held for suspected the testament of King *Edward*, as a thing made too much to the aduantage of the Duke and many Lords of the Countrie, terming him too ambitious, wrote vnto *Mary* the eldest daughter of K. *Henrie* the eight, encouraging her to declare her selfe Queene, and offring vnto her all dutie and seruice. *Marye* who had no great meanes, durst not so soone come to London, to the ende that according to the custome, she might remaine ten daies in the Tower before her Coronation, but went into the Countrie and Dukedome of Norfolke, bordering on the Sea coast: from whence shee wrote to sundrie Princes and Lords of the Countrie, complayning how that *Iane* of Suffolk, had enterprised against her, and that *Edward* was not able to dispose of the Crowne which appertained vnto her, being the next daughter vnto the late Kinge *Henrie*: she laide before them the wrong which had beene done vnto *Katherine* her mother, and next vnto her selfe, and that none of King *Henrie* his children were to succeede before her: protesting that shee would pursue her right by the sworde, and not suffer the Duke of Northumberland to vaunt how he would dispose at his pleasure of the Realme of England. These letters being brought to London at the selfe same time as *Iane* of Suffolke against her will, was proclaimed Queene within the Tower of London, caused a great chaunge of dispositions among the Lordes there present and a strange alienating of their mindes touching the case of *Iane*, whome sundrie from thence foorth left to take *Maries* parte. The which caused the Duke of Northumberland to send certaine troupes of men at armes, into the Countrie of Norfolke, thinking thereby to hinder her desseins. But in the meane time shee was proclaimed Queene in Suffolke by the principall personages of the land. So as hauing recouered some succours from the Emperour on the coast of Flaunders, (albeit that the Duke had strongly armed vppon the Seas to hinder their comming) shee practised with a number of the cheefe of the Duke his armie, which in the ende incorporated themselues to hers. In the meane time Northumberland, to playe on the surer side, woulde needes haue the Duke of Suffolke Father to *Iane*, to goe as her Lieutennant generall against *Marye*: for hee durst not leaue London, fearing least the Londiners woulde reuoulte: But the Duke of Suffolke refusing to take this charge vpon him, he was constrained to goe him selfe the other remayning to serue to giue counsell to his daughter within the Tower of London. The mishappe notwithstanding of this poore Lord was such, as of a great number of men which hee had in his trayne, hee saw himselfe as it were euen in a moment left cleane destitute of them all. And as one mishappe neuer commeth alone, hauing for want of men sent to London for souldiours from thence to come to his succours, and for some Lordes which might serue for hostages and warrant of his lyfe they wete no sooner without the Cittie, but they declared themselues for *Marye*. Whereof it ensued that the Duke, who hoped to see his Sonne Kinge of England, sawe himselfe left of euery manne, and deliuered into the handes of *Marye* his enemye, afterwardes conueyed to London, where his tryall beeing made, hee then was

Letters & plaints of Mary aspiring the Crowne of England.

condemned toloose his head, the iudgement being executed in the moneth of September, and *Marie* being proclaimed Queene at London by the Lords and coũcellors of the whole Realme of England, as the lawfull heire apparant thereunto: and in the end the miſerable princeſſe *Iane* of Suſſolke, with her husbãd ſonne vnto the D. of Northumberland, had their heads ſtroken off at London, for that ſhee would not releaſe (as ſome ſaid) the right which ſhee pretended to the Crowne. Thus ceaſed the trouble on that ſide within the Realme of England.

Marie being thus receiued for Queene in England, they propounded vnto her certaine points to effectuate: as to reeſtabliſh the auncient Chatholique Religion, & the goods of the Church into their former eſtate, then that it would pleaſe her to marie with ſome Prince worthie of her and her Realme, thereby to draw a ſuccour vnto the Crowne. Whereupon to the end that better and more ready order might bee giuen vnto the firſt, ſhee was counceled to ſend for her couſſen *Raynolde Pole* then a Fugitiue at Rome for Religion, who comming as Legate, and with full power from the Pope, might better aduance ſuch a matter then any other within the Realme. *Pole* being ſent for, and forward on his way with ſuch authoritie as was required, was entreated by the Emperour *Charles* the fift to viſit him as he paſſed by at Bruxelles: wher he ſo cunningly handled any Engliſhman, as he promiſed him that he would further the marriage betweene his Coſin the Queene of England, and his ſonne *Philippe* Prince of Spaine, which tooke ſuch effect as you haue ſeene touching the ſeconde point which could not be ſo ſoone brought to paſſe. The Legate being receiued with great deuotion and magnificence into his Country, was in full aſſembly of the three eſtates of the Realme, begon the 12. of Nouember 1554. reſtored vnto all his dignities, goods and honours, whereof he had beene depriued by K. *Henrie* the eight. Afterwards vpon Wenſday the twentie eight of that moneth, the Parliament of England being aſſembled, and in the preſence of the King and Queene, hee expoſed his Legation, and exhorted them to returne to the holy Sea of the Pope, deliuering vnto them, how greatly bound they were vnto almightie God, who now had enlarged towards them his diuine grace, hauing beſtowed vppon them two ſuch Princes as they had, further he ſhewed vnto them how the holy Father ment to vſe his benignitie and accuſtomed clemencye, by him his Legate: greatly thanking them for that they had receiued him into his Countrie, and reſtored him in bloud, wherein hee had beene ſo long attaint: and how in reſpect thereof hee helde himſelfe the more bound to procure that they might be reſtored into the heauenly Court, as his principall deſire was. That done he retyred, to giue the better cõmoditie vnto the Lordes of the Parliament to reſolue themſelues. And ſtraight waies the Chancellour repeating the words of the Cardinall, ſhewed vnto them how much they were to thanke God, who had rayſed vp ſucha Prophet of their owne ſeede to procure their ſaluation. In ſuch wiſe as al with a common accorde concluded to conſent to the vnion and obedience of the Church of Rome. So as on the next morrow it was ordayned, that the Cardinals motion ſhoulde be accorded, and to preſent with a common conſent, a petition to beſeech their Maieſties, as the head of the realme to entreate the Legate to procure an abſolute remiſsion of all their errors paſſed: Promiſing to repeale all the lawes, which had beene in former times eſtabliſhed againſt the authoritie of the Sea of Rome. The King ſent the petition to the Legate, and the daye after the Parliament reaſſembled in the place where the Kinge and Queene with the Cardinall were ſet. There the Chauncellour roſe vpp, and with ſuch greate

reuerence

reuerence deliuered alowde the reſolution which had beene made by the Lordes of the Parliament, beſeeching in the name of them all, that their petition might bee accepted, which was written in Latine, formed and ſealed by the Chancelour. The petition being opened by the Legate, was deliuered vnto the Chancelour to publiſh, who read it with a lowde voice, and that done, put it to the queſtion, which they all paſſed, and vpon that the King and Queene aroſe, and preſented the petition vnto the Legate who read the ſame. Afterwards hee gaue vnto them the Buls of his Legation to reade, where by might appeare the authoritie which hee had from the holy Father to be able to abſolue them: that done, he made vnto them an Oration in Engliſh, ſhewing how much repentance was agreeable vnto God, and how the Angels in Paradiſe make more ioye of a ſinner which returneth to repentance, then of nintie and nine iuſt. And thereupon applied certaine examples out of the word to his purpoſe. Then hauing ended his ſpeech he aroſe vp, and the King and Queene kneeled downe on both knees before him, inuoking God and the Saints, that it would pleaſe him, to pardon the penitent people, in the authoritie of him whoſe perſon he there repreſented, all the faults which they had committed in times paſſed; that done the Legate pronounced a generall abſolution. Afterwardes they all followed the King, Queene and Legate to the Chappell, where was ſong *Te Deum*. And after that the Cardinall had made his triumphant entries, he reſtored on the firſt Sunday in *Aduent* to the Biſhoppes, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, all the power, authoritie and prerogatiue, which had beene taken from them. On which day, the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter hauing beene before times of the Proteſtant Religion, made a Sermon, after a ſolemne Maſſe, taking for his theame, *Nunc tempus eſt de ſomno ſurgere*, that is to ſay, it is now time to awake out of ſleepe, as if he woulde ſaie that vnder the Raigne of *Edward* King of England he had alwaies beene aſleepe. The Queene had in the beginning ſent Embaſſadours to Rome, with commiſsion to kiſſe the feete of his holineſſe, and to preſent vnto him the dutie of a Chatholike Queene, and an obedient daughter of the holy and Apoſtolique Church of Rome, which ſhee acknowledged for the head, Matrice and Soueraigne of all the Churches of Chriſtendome, and mother of all the Princes making profeſsion of the Goſpell. Which was ſo agreeable vnto the Pope, and the whole Courte and people of Rome, that for a publike teſtimonie thereof they made Bonfiers, and ſolemne proceſsions praiſing God for this conuerſion. Afterwards, and in the yeare 1555. an other Parliament was ſummoned in England, in which among other thinges Queene *Marie*, wrought by all the meanes ſhee was able, that the Abbie lands might bee reſtored, for ſo much as the Pope did vrge it very hard. But by reaſon that the Nobilitie and Gentlemen ſtoode ſeaſed thereof, and that manie had guiſts thereof from the King, nothing coulde bee brought to paſſe as ſhee deſired. Notwithſtanding the Queene preuailed ſo much, as the tenthes were graunted to the Clergie: during this aſſemblie they ſcattered and ſowed about London little pamphlets very biting, among which ſome were ſufficiently enough able to moue the people to ſedition againſt the Spanniardes, (with whome the Engliſhmen playde a thouſand ſhrewd tumes) and to turne the Queene from the loue of *Phillip*: Great ſearch was made, but it neuer could be poſsibly known whence they proceeded. Before this aſſembly was diſſolued and matters diſpatched, the B. of Wincheſter being Chancelour dyed of a Dropſie; *Thomas Heath* Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, who before that, had beene in Germanie with him of Caunterburie, and profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion, ſucceeded in his place.

Libels againſt the Spanniardes in England.

An accorde betweene the King and the Duke of Eſtampes, for his clame to the Dutchie of Bretaigne

After the victualing of Mariembourg, and the attempts of *Deux Giuets*, the King being informed of the auncient clames of the houſes of Blois and Mont-forte to the Dutchie of Bretaigne, to appeaſe with the ſelfe ſame hand the quarrels which were redoubled, by the Lady *Anne* Queene of Fraunce, and Dutches of Bretaigne, iſſued out of the bloud of *Mon-fort*, in whoſe right the King himſelfe claimed, to accorde this olde difference with *Meſsire Iean de Broſſe*, Duke of eſtampes, and Earle of Pontieue, heire of the houſe of Blois rightes, hee accorded in ſuch ſorte, as this Duke releaſed vnto him, for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors Kinges of Fraunce, all rightes, titles, reaſons, and actions, which hee pretended to the Dutchie of Bretaigne, in right of his mother the Ladie *Marie* of Bretaigne iſſued out of the houſe of Blois, and the King cleane acquited and transferred vnto him the Countie of Pontieure, ſauing certaine Ports betweene *Conegnon*, and *Hauegnon*, and the Seicheries of *Cornoaille*. Whereof autenticall letters paſſed betweene them.

The

The Hiſtorie of Fraunce.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

THe narration of matters paſſed hath made you able to know no leſſe the deſire thé the neceſsitie which the French had of a generall peace, vnder the benefite whereof they hoped to forget all, at the leaſt, part of ſo many loſſes paſſed, and of the preſent miſeries, which cauſed them to feare much more miſcheefe to enſue: you haue ſeene how ſtoute theſe Princes ſhewed themſelues vpon their treaties, by the aduantagious conditions which their Embaſſadours had charge from them to repoſe. In the ende notwithſtanding, yeelding vnto the aduiſe of their Councell, they thought good to renew againe the negotiation. Iointe the feare which the Imperials had of the comming of the Turks, and the deſire of *Marie* Queene of England to haue her husband ſtill about her, hoping there by to get an inheritor vnto her Crowne, to reſtore the Catholike Church into her Countrie, not to enter league with any one to warre againſt another, to eaſe her Realme of ſo great charges, & not to breede any occaſions of new riots and mutinies amongſt her people: Of all which points ſhee cleane loſt the hope, if her husband ſhould bee abſent, employing in the managing and conduct of warre. Beſides the peaceable nature of this Prince, which made great accounte of the good Councell which his Father gaue him, to procure a reconciliation with all Princes rounde about him, were ſufficient occaſions to mooue him inſtantly to requeſt the Cardinall *Pole* to renew againe the tearmes of peace: or at the leaſt to conclude a good truce, for a releaſe to ſo great miſchiefes. Whereupon ſeeing the difficultie of articulating the conditions with ſuch aduantages as each one deſired, the truce was concluded for fiue yeares, the fift day of Februarie, 1556. ceaſing al quarrels, and beginning againe to enter traficque, and Marchandiſe one with an other, as well by Sea, as land, euery man retaining what they had gotten and taken by right of warre, without being able to agree vpon their priſonners, (among whome the D. of Aſcot a Flemming, and *Francis de Montmorency*, eldeſt ſonne vnto the Conſtable were the principall) with many other conditions, which were proclaimed at Paris the ſixteene day of Februarie. And afterwards the Comte de *Lallain* was at Blois in April to confirme

Occaſions which moued K. Philip & Marie of England to harken to a peace.

the ſame with the King, as alſo the Admirall *De Chaſtillon* was at Bruxelles with the Emperor and King *Philip*, to receiue there the oath of their part: wherein it was not forgotten to motion a marriage, betweene *Don Carlo* eldeſt ſonne vnto *Philip*, and Prince of Spaine, with the Ladie *Iſabel* eldeſt daughter vnto the King. But if Fraunce and the prouinces which cõfined on the Septentrional ſide, hoped for repoſe during the continuance of this truce, new occaſions of more freſh miſchiefes preſented thẽſelues on the other ſide eſpecially towards Italy.

You haue ſeene the election of the Cardinall *Theatin* to the Papacie: and for that the houſe of *Caraffe*, out of which hee was deſcended, and of *Melphe*, being of the moſt ſpeciall marke within the Realme of Nãples, haue alwaies remained deuoted vnto the Crowne of France, which euer honourably entertained them, the *Colonois*, *Vrſins*, and other families of Rome partakers of the Emperour, fearing to bee made ſtoope, and leaſt the Pope would too much exalt the friends of the French, whome he might cal into Italy, (for that the Church of Rome pretendeth the Realme of Naples to be of her proper Domanie) and leaſt, together with the graunts made vnto the Kings of France, confirmed by the Popes predeceſſors, and other matters which the King there demaunded, he ſhould make a new ratification, with intent to bee able to preuaile, helde themſelues in the beginning vpon their gards, then as the feareſull man interpreteth, all newter things, ſimple and doubtfull to his diſaduantage, they ſuſpected in ſuch wiſe the actions of the Pope and his confederates, as they well furniſhed with men, armour, and other munition ſuch lodgings as they had within the Towne. Whereof the Pope being aduertiſed, & as ſoone animated againſt them, he leauied men: and by a generall muſter tooke away armes from thoſe whome hee thought had too mueh: he munitioned the places within Rome, and well furniſhed the Caſtle of Saint Angelo with all neceſſaries. Afterwards, as a man licenſeth himſelfe accordingly, as leaſure and libertie is giuen vnto him, he ſeaſed vpon the ſtrongeſt places which were about Rome, into which he put Garriſons. And at the ſame inſtance cauſed to be impriſoned or aſsigned a breſe day, to the authors of their commotion, among the reſt the Cardinall *S. Fleur*, *Camille Collone*, *Iulian Ceſarin*, and *Aſcaigne de la Corne*. All which ſtomacking, that they were ſo ſtrangely handled, fled vnto the Emperour and his ſonne, vowing themſelues vaſſals vnto them, where by they might find ſuccour, cauſing them ſo much to miſlike the forme, wherewith the Pope had proceeded, and to doubt in ſuch ſorte the deſſeins of the French partie in Italy, as they ſent ſtraight to the Dukes of Alua and Flourence, to aſſemble all their forces, and hauing ioyned them together with ſuch new as they appointed vnto them, ſo to ſhut vp the Pope and his adherents, that no meanes ſhoulde bee left vnto them, but bare words, to expreſſe the repentance of ſuch an attempt: which they performed in a very ſhort ſpace, hauing by the meanes and conduct of the Colonois among other, regained from the Pope manie fortreſſes, whereof they rendred ſome to theſe complainants. Afterwards building many forts about Rome, neere Oſtia, vpon the banke and courſe of Tiber, they put the Pope in ſuch a ſtraight within the Caſtle of Sainte Angelo, Rome in ſuch neceſsitie, and her ſupports ſo bare of meanes, as they were conſtrained to demaund ſuccour of the King of Fraunce, as of the firſt ſonne of the Church, ſending vnto him by the Cardinall *Caraffe*, nephew vnto Pope *Paul 4.* his Legate, a Hat after the faſhion of the auncient Romane Senators, and a Sword, ſignifying the defence of the Church, and Apoſtolike Sea. Who being come to Fontainbleau about the end of Iune, deliuered the preſents vnto the King whome hee ſummoned, and abiured to ſuccour the head of the Chriſtian Religion, according vnto

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the title of moſt Chriſtian, which was giuen vnto him throughout the endeuour of his predeceſſors, who had many times reſtored the Popes into their ſeates, againſt tyrants, paganes, and other: eſpecially as his late father in freſh memorie did touching Pope *Clement* beſieged within Rome, afterwards in the Caſtle of S. Angelo, by the troupes of *Charles* of Bourbon, and Prince of Orenge, ſucceſſiuely generals ouer the Imperiall armie. To whome hauing anſwered that he would take counſell vpon it, he put him notwithſtanding in a good hope, aſſuring him that hee would faile no whit in the vertuous deportments of his auncеſtors, and would ſuccour the holy Father with al his might, in any reaſonable ſort. Afterwards notwithſtanding hauing giuen aduice to the Emperour and his ſonne, endeuouring to meditate the whole rather by perſwaſions, then to come to action, contrarie to the couenants, ſo ſolemnly ſworne of each parte, for the repoſe of all the Chriſtian Churches. According to which at a feaſt which the King made at Fontaine-bleau, he cauſed before ſupper all the Embaſſadours to retire into the Chappell, in the preſence of whome he told the Emperours to this effect. That his maſter was not able to excuſe himſelfe, but that the warre which the Seigneur *Marc Anthoine* Colone made againſt the Pope, was maintained, and conducted at his expences and proniſions. Moreouer this Cardinal had beene not long before ſeene in Fraunce a man of war at the Kings ſeruice, and was ſo fauourably entertained, that he was ſoone laden with preſents. Now for that there was no Biſhoppricke voide at that time, *Bertrande* the Lord-keeper of the great Seale, being requeſted by the King lent vnto him his Biſhoppricke of Cominges, which he beſtowed vpon the Cardinall *Caraffe*: and afterwards *Bertrande* was made Cardinall of Sens. *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine, being returned a little before from Rome, hauing beene ſent thether to congratulate the election of the Pope, confirme the amitie of the French, and if it were poſsible to draw him in League againſt the Emperour, and who with great capitulations had made *Hercules* the ſecond Duke of Ferrare, the Kinges Lieutenant generally in Italy) ſeemed to fauour the deſſeine of the Pope.

Charles Cardinall of Lorraine and his vyage into Italy.

In ſuch an occurrence the King wanted no aduiſe, & that very diuers: they which councelled him to breake the truce, laide before him the immortall honour which he ſhould obtaine to defend, yea and to free out of ſuch a ſeruitude the great Pontife the holy Father, and the vniuerſall head of all the Chriſtians in the world; which he was tyed the rather to doe, for that he ſeemed pricked forwardes thereunto, by a generall emulation of ſo many Kings his auncеſtors, who to retire him out of his enemies hands, and to carrie themſelues as the true piller of the Chriſtian building, haue attained and preſerued as it were from hand to hand, that faire and ſo honourable title of Moſt Chriſtian, and eldeſt ſonne of the Catholique Church. They likewiſe ſet before him the incredible profit, which he ſhould make in the conqueſt of that goodly Realme of Naples, which being withdrawne from the Crowne of Fraunce, by the ingenious malice of the Caſtilians, and Aragonois, ſtoode ſo ſmally aſſured betweene their hands, that with the great authoritie which the Pope had thoroughout all Italy, and the particular meanes of his owne houſe within that Realme, together with the fauours of ſo many Princes, who deſired nothing more, then to ſee againe the Flower de Luce better founded there then heretofore, there was no doubt but that the armie which he might ſend thether, would carrie it away euen at their firſt aboorde, conſidering the diſcontentment which the Italians carried againſt the Spaniards, who maſtred them with all kinde of Rigor: and conſidering the ſmall forces which were there, and the retreate of the Emperour *Charles* the fift: who not to con-

founde himſelfe in the vanities of this world, had quitted all his goods, and eſtates thereby to liue priuate, and out of all managing of humaine affaires. And to remoue from him any opinion of diſhonour, which they would imprint vnto him, that diſwaded him from breaking of his faith, giuen to the obſeruing of this truce, they declared vnto him that the accident ſince happened vnto his holines, cauſed ſo much more all occaſions to vaniſh, which might moue him to keepe his word, as the Pope is aboue all the perſons of the world. And as the Sonne could not be thought to doe his dutie, if he did not ruſh vpon his kinſman or allie, what friendſhip ſoeuer were ſworne betweene them, which went about to endamage his Father. So the malicious ambition of *Charles*, and *Philip* of Auſtria, who holde the Pope priſonner, to enforce him to doe their will, to the ſeruitude of all Italy, whence they determined to chaſe out the credit of the French, was ſufficient cauſe enough for him, to declare himſelfe protectour of the holy Sea againſt all violence. All good conuentions are lawful and to be kept, but the Pope *Chriſtes* Vicar is aboue all, is alwaies & in al things excepted, as euery Soueraigne is in a reciprocall oth made among his ſubiectes: for they cannot preiudice the rights of their Prince, much leſſe then Chriſtians the right of the Pope, eſpecially in a caſe of ſuch importance. Iointe that Truces doe not forbid war, but in Countries of obedience, not in other places where they haue nought to doe. Moreouer they do not hinder one from taking vpon him the defence of ſome friend or allie, by a much more ſtrong reaſon then of him, to whome all Chriſtians are redewable for what ſocuer they haue in this worlde, as to Gods Lieutennant on earth.

Perſwaſions to periurie.

Anne de Montmorency, and his nephewes *Odet* and *Gaſpart* of Coligny, called Chaſtillon with many others, repreſented vnto him for the contrarie, the eternall and generall diſhonour in all countries, which he ſhould get by breaking his faith, ſo ſolemly ſworne for the repoſe of his ſubiects, & vniuerſall good of all Chriſtendome ſo miſerably torne in peeces, thorough the continuance of ſo vilanous warresl: yea and that there was a time, in which ther was demaunded of Princes only their word for all aſſurances: by reaſon that they ſaw them ſo wiſe and vertuous, as they woulde not change their promiſes for all the aduantages of the worlde. But as the malice of men encreaſed, whereto the Princes by little and little participated, ſo ſubiectes and ſtrangers haue required at Princes handes their faith, and oath, which all men, yea the very Turkes, and other of contrary Religion, hold inuiolable, ſauing at this daye Chriſtians, which firſt made ſhew of being willing to diſpence with ſo Religious a bond, as an oath is: which cannot but turne to the great diſhonour and generall obloquie of all Chriſtendome: the which no longer acknowledging any aſſurance vailable among men, will fall into ſuch a confuſion, that the ſtrongeſt, and moſt malicious, will make ſubiect the good, right, honour and all vertue at his pleaſure. By conſequence then there is no apparance of honour to be gotten in ſuccouring the Pope, who of himſelfe, in reſpect of the dutie of his charge, ought to be aſhamed to aske it, and to giue occaſion to ſuch periurie and diſloyaltie. Yea if he were asked, how hee would truely iudge, or practiſe in his owne act if he were a King, he would make no difficultie to diſſwade ſo pernitious a deliberation: much leſſe the hope of a conqueſt of a Realme ought to ſtur him vp thereunto, conſidering the impoſsibilitie of gayning it, or at the leaſt keeping it, by men ſo farre off, ſo euill husbands, and bad prouiders againſt a nation ſo neere and wel aduiſed as the Spanniard: and eſpecially that this hope is founded vpon the amitie of Italians, whome we haue found for the moſt part vnconſtant, and variable in their duties, as ſo many examples paſſed may verye well

well make vs wise enough, to counsaile well therein our suruiuours. And it is so farre off, that the farre distance of the Emperour ought to encourage vs to doe euill, as the good aduices wherewith he hath instructed his sonne: the aduised and prouident personages, which he hath leste vnto him for counsell: the alliaunce of the English which will furnish him both with men and money: together with the resolution which he hath not to degenerate in ought from the vertues of his father, nay rather to encrease them higher, if occasion did present it selfe, ought to make vs the more to feare the vndertaking thereof, and to assure vs that we shall find ynough, nay more forces and meanes to stay vs euen in the best of the enterprise, then if the father himselfe had taken the conducte thereof. All this notwithstanding, and many other reasons which were alleadged, coulde not hinder the breach of the truce and the expedition which was made into Italie, chiefely in the ende by the diligence of the Conestable. For albeit that he helde a hard string to the contrarie, yet hee slacked for two occasions. First, that he perceyued, through the absence of these vndertakers, he mought haue faire and easie meanes to make great and assure his house: so as hee was not in the ende ouer sorrie, to see them of the house of *Guise*, bearing armes to quitte the Courte, and goe the voyage, whereof hee hoped for no happie euente. Iointe, that he sought to marrie his eldest sonne, (whom 50000. crownes had a few dayes before redeemed out of prison) with the widdow of the D. of Castre, the kings aduowed daughter. Whereupon the marriage being accorded, euen as it stood vpon the poynte to be accomplished, his sonne let him to vnderstande in October, by *Odet* and *Gaspart* of Coligny his cousin germanes, howe he had made a promise vnto the Ladie of Pienes, & that he coulde haue no other. Whereat the father grieuously displeased, endeuoured notwithstanding by all meanes to accomplishe this marriage. So as hauing caused Pienes to be put in sure guarde within the house of *Filles Dieu*, he considered with himselfe, that herein he shoulde stande in neede of the Popes assistance, vpon that he sent his sonne to Rome, where he found *Pierre Strossy* mareschall of Fraunce, and they beganne together so well to bestuire themselues for the Pope, as they recouered agayne the porte of Ostye, and other places occupied by the Spaniardes about Rome, which serued him but as a prison. And yet all the meanes which mought be, was wrought with the Pope, that he should not dispense with him to marrie any other then Pienes: fearing least that being once obtained the Conestable would breake the desseins of the warre. Whereof he being aduertised, and seeing howe the Pope vsed him but with delayes, & dissimulations, he besought him to contente himselfe with the seruice which he had done vnto him: So as hauing taken his leaue, he returned to Paris, a few dayes before Easter, 1557. declaring vnto his Father, that that which he let him to vnderstande of the promisse which he had made vnto Pienes, was only to induce him vnto the marriage, but that in truech there was no other matter, in such sorte as presently after the marriage was accomplished with the Lady of Castres. The denyall thereof notwithstanding proceeding from the promisse, which he mainteined he made vnto Pienes, was the cause of an Edicte which was then published, for the reciprocall duetie of parents and children, vpon the occurrance of their marriage.

Marriage of Mareschall Montmorency eldest sonne to the Conestable.

The Pope the last succour to flie vnto for breach of truce and oathes.

Edicte of childrens marriages.

THE K. ordayneth, *That such children, as shall contract secrete mariadge, against the will, or vnwitting vnto their father, and mother, be disherited, and declared vncapable*

able of all aduantages and profites, which they might pretende by the meanes of nuptiall conuentions, or by the benefite of cuſtomes or lawes of the contrarie. And that the fathers and mothers may reuoke any guifts, and aduantages giuen by them. They likewiſe declared punißable which ſhall giue counſell & ayde for the conſummation of ſuch marriages. That this ordinance ſhall take place as well for the time to come as paſſed, becauſe there is therein a tranſgreſſion of the lawe and commaundementes of God, wherein no man may couer himſelfe, by any ignorance, or fooliſhe errour to the contrarie. Reſerued notwithſtanding ſuch marriages, as haue bene heretofore conſummate by carnall cohabitation: and not comprehending ſonnes aboue the age of thirtie yeeres, or daughters of fiue and twentie, prouided that they vſe all duetie to ſeeke the aduice and counſell of their father, and mother. It grewe then when as the Conеſtable beganne to miſlike the enterpriſe of Italie, as I will tell you elſewhere.

Hereupon the Cardinall carryed tydinges of the whole vnto his Holyneſſe, whileſt that the King ſent the Popes griefes vnto the Emperour, and his ſonne as it were to be the meanes to render him content. Ioint that he woulde not ſo ſoone attempt any thing againſt them, for the opinion which hee conceyued, that they were not conſenting, and leſſe the authours of ſuch nouelties. Some aſſuredly gaue out, that *Philippe* anſwering more eagerly then his Father, ſayd that for his parte he deſired the continuance of the Truce, and rather a peace if it were poſſible to bring it to perfection. But howe he had alwayes founde the Pope, and his affinitie ſo great an enemie vnto his houſe, that whoſoeuer woulde declare himſelfe his friende vndertaking his defence, he woulde holde him for an enemie, & ouerrunne him with all his forces. This notwithſtanding, the King ſtirred not of a long time any whitte in the Popes fauour, were it that his meanes were not yet in his hande, were it that he perſwaded himſelfe verie well of K. *Philips* good inclination to the continuance of the Truce, by the report of *Renard* his ambaſſadour, who aſſured him that his Maiſters intention was cleane contrarie to the aunſwere aboueſaide, or elſe that he hoped that the truce woulde not leaue to be kept inuiolable in this caſe, nowe that the Imperialles armed themſelues in Italie for the reſtitution of the Colonois: yea ſo farre as by playntes, and requeſts redoubled, they knew that they were entrenched at Rome gates, where the Pope was ſtraightly enclоſed within the caſtle of S. Angelo. And further how *Octauian Farneze* ſolicited by the Imperialles, and gayned by the Cardinals *Farneze* his brother, & S. *Fleur* his couſin, was reuoulted from the King to them, who a little before cauſing his father to be ſlayne, woulde diſinherite him, which made him to liſten eare vnto them, who aſſured him that they meant to reunge the Pope to the will of the Emperour, and chaſe the French out of Italie. So as the King reſolued to breake the truce, determined to ſende an armie vnder *Francois de Lorraine* Duke of Guiſe, compoſed of 6000. Switzers vnder the Colonel *Freſa*, and 4000. French vnder the Duke of Nemours, with 500. men at armes, and 500. light horſe, who hauing late enough made readie his preparatiues, was enforced diligently to haſten to paſſe ouer the mountaines of Sauoy, and the Alpes in the great froſtes and infinite trauayles which Winter brought with it. Such was one of the principalleſt occaſions of this warre. I leaue the pretence of the Realme of Naples, to thoſe who fanſie it vnto themſelues againſt thoſe of Guiſe, without any great apparance. Ioinct likewiſe the particular reaſon, which ſome alleadge, to ſhewe howe theſe Truces made, and entertayned in diſſimulation, were but to couer the progreſſe, and effectes of ſuch intelligences as theſe Princes had one vpon another. I will recite vnto you the meanes by which the Imperialles as the Frenche reporte, gaue iuſt occaſion vnto them to breake the Truce, and deſpayre of a peace.

The King of Spaines anſwere to ſuch griefes as the K. alleadged on the Popes behalfe.

Without

Without agrauating say they, the rigorous entertainement made vnto our prisoners of warre, more cruell then could be among the Moores & Infidels: Yea leauing apart how the D. of Bouillon was villanously, and trayterously poysoned, and afterwardes solde being dead; it is most notorious, that a fewe dayes after the conclusion of the Truce, euery man on this side, liuing with a hope of peace at hand, it was verified by the reporte of the conspiratours, how many enterprises had bene attempted vpon the principall Townes of this Realme, as of the souldiers of Metz resolued to yeilde the Towne, at the pursuite of the Compte de Meigue, Gouernour of Luxembourg, and with the priuitie of the Prince of Piemont. The intelligence vpon Bourdeaux in Guienne at the conduct of Barlemont, Generall of Finances to the Emperour, a little before Easter, and a moneth after the Truce accorded. Few dayes after there was taken an ingener, and maker of fortifications, named *Iaques de Flectias*, who confessed that he was sente by the Prince of Piemont, to viewe, and draw the plattes of the principall Townes vpon the Frontire, with money impreſt, as Montreul, Saint esprit de Rue, Dourlan, S. Quentin, and Mezieres. Besides a prouenciall souldier subborned with great presents to poyson the Welle at Mariembourg, and consequently the whole Garrison, therby to make the surprisall of the towne the more easie. Thus did the Emperor first infringe the Truce contrarie to the publique oath. Albeit that all contractes and accordes especially among Princes (who are themselues to be example of the greatest conformation to the Lawes which they make) ought not only to be without deceit and malice, but exempt of all suspition, considering that therein, besides the duetie of conscience, and of an honest man, their particular acte alone is not comprised, but the whole good, and vniuersall repose consisteth. They adde thereto the great preparations of men, and money, which *Philip* secretly made of all partes, namely at the solliciting of the King of Boheme, and Princes of Germanie, to vndertake a warre against the King, for the recouering of free Townes, without entering his Captaines & men of warre. So as soone enough the Garrisons of Mesneil, beganne to ouerrunne the platte Countrie, about Abbeuille, S. Esprit de Rue, Auannes, Cymetz, Roc-Roy, & Ambenton, vnder colour that famine enforced thē therunto. *Henry* thē hauing seene how K. *Philip* stil proceeded on against the Pope, and helde Rome beseiged, sent worde to *Pierre Strozzy* (to whome he had giuen the office of Mareschall of Fraunce, in the roome of the late Mareschall *de Sedan*) that he should put himselfe within Rome, & abide the brunte of the Spaniards, vntil that the succours should be ariued out of Fraunce. In this meane space, *Don Iean de Lune*, malcontent with King *Philip*, retired from his seruice into Fraunce, towards King *Henry*, who courteously receyued him, and gaue him an honest pension to mainteine him, in such sorte as it was not possible for King *Philips* ministers to induce him to retire agayne into Spayne, what fayre promises soeuer they made vnto him. Some say that the Gouernour of the Castle of Milan fledde, being suspected that hee woulde haue deliuered it vp to the King. The which other auowing to be false, say that the matter was about a quarrell betweene him and *Ferdinand de Gonzague* being disappointed of the gouernement of Milan, by the meanes of *Don Iean de Lune*, and the Chauncelour of Milan. For *Gonzague* being afterwardes returned into fauour, and purged of the crimes layde vnto him, pursued in such sorte *Don Iean de Lune*, as he being angrie at the small respecte, which was carryed to the great seruices which hee said hee had done the Emperour, lefte Milan, and came into Fraunce, without euer making any practise against the catholike K. The Emperors partisans in the meane time, the better to settle his affayres in Italie, & seeing how greatly *Octauian* Duke of Parma, and

Particular causes of the breache of Truce by the Imperialles.

Iean de Lune a Fugitiue into Fraunce.

his territories (the defence whereof had coſte the Frenche ſo much) mought aduauntage him, eſpecially in ſuch an occurrence, employed the Cardinall of Trent, to gayne him vnto the Emperour, quitting King Henry, who had done him ſo great good, and for his ſake had made warre againſt the Pope and Emperour, to the ende that the Duchies of Parma and Plaiſance might bee reſtored and aſſured vnto him. In ſumme the Cardinall *Madruch*, Biſhoppe and Lorde of Trente, was he, who according vnto the Accorde betweene the Catholique King and *Octauian*, reſtored him into the poſſeſſion of Plaiſance, where hee made his entrie verie ſumptuouſly, and declared himſelfe againſt the Pope and all his allies. The Duke of Alua in the meane ſpace, ouerranne and ſpoyled the territorie of Rome, and beſieged the citie of Anagne, which the Popes ſouldiers abandoned, hauing burned all the powder and munition. The which aſtonied in ſuch ſorte the Cardinalles at Rome, as they gotte the Pope to ſende to the Spaniſh Generall to parley of Peace, but all in vayne, for as much as the Popes deputies were not at the breake of day appoynted for the Pourparley. Which made the Duke ſo angrie againſt the Pope, as hee ruſhte vpon Pilaſtrine and Segue, which yeelded: whileſt that the Cardinall *Caraffe* fortified Bellitre, attending certaine troupes out of Germanie, which he cauſed to come, in hope of which and of the frenche Succoures, he would by no meanes ſuffer any parley of Peace, ſaying that it was not beſeeming for the Pope to ſeeke him, who was but a miniſter of a vaſſall Prince, & feodarie to the holye Sea.

Plaiſance rendred to Octauian D. of Parma.

Point of Honour in a Cardinall.

Alreadie did the forces of *Tuſcane* ouerſpread the countrey of Rome, where the Mareſchal *Strozzie* was. In ſuch ſorte as *Monluc* was to viewe Tiuoly, to ſee if it were tenable conducting ſeuen hundred Gaſcoignes to defende it, in caſe there were any meanes to fortifie it. But ſeeing the place too feeble to endure a ſiege, and leſſe proper in any ſhorte time to be fortified, he lefte it, giuing leaue to the Citizens to prouide for themſelues, and to yeelde it with the beſt aduantage they coulde poſſiblie make for themſelues, as they did.

After, *Monluc* being returned to Rome, and *F. Vrſin* to Vico-Valerio, the Tiuoliens yeelded them ſelues vnto the Duke of Alua: which were followed by them of Vico-Valerio, in deſpight of *F. Vrſin*, who woulde haue defended the place for the Pope, ſeeing howe neceſſarie it was to hinder any victualles comming to the Spaniſhe campe from Naples ſide.

Beholde howe the Duke of Alua was able to holde Rome in ſubiection, hauing the places rounde about at his deuotion.

The Duke of Alua beſeigeth Rome, with the Pope and cardinals ſo harde as he thought to famiſhe them.

Afterwardes he made a nomber of fortes on the ſide of Oſtia, to holde the Romanes yet in greater neceſſitie, and cutte off their victualles from all partes, to the ende to famiſhe them. Attending the ſuccours out of Fraunce notwithſtanding, *Alexander Colomne*, which followed the Popes partie, was of opinion that Rome being deuided into diuers quarters, there ſhoulde be in euery one a ſeuerall Captaine put, with his troupes to defende it. Therefore *Alexander* was made Colonell of all the Romanes, which mought amount to 7. or 8. thouſand, whom he diſperſed into places as he ſawe neede, entermingling among them ſome Enſeignes of ſouldiers, as well Italians as Gaſcoignes. So as *Lanſac* had in guard the gate called *De Populo*, hauing 1000. Gaſcoignes vnder his charge. The *D.* of Palliane, nephewe to the Pope, had the keeping of the gate S. Agnes, hauing 800. Almanes in his company. *Iourdan Vrſin* come out of Corſe, cõmanded 6. Italian companies at the gate of S. Lawrence, the Cardinall *Caraffe* at S. Sebaſtian, hauing 500. Italians, and the reſt of the Gaſcons were vnder *Monluc* his charge at the gate S. Paul. *Aurelie Fregoſe* kept betweene the

The meanes which the French and Italians helde, to allure Rome and the Pope againſt the enemies attempts attending ſuccours out of Fraunce.

Tiber,

Tiber, with 1500. ſouldiars, *Camille Vrſin* commaunded the quarter of *S. Peter*, with 2000. footemen. So as theſe troupes peſourming well their duetie, the Spaniſh Generall durſt not hazzard himſelfe to make any attempt to the towne, onely hee kept himſelfe ſlyelie watching his commodities, aboue all to cutte off victuals, whoſe temporiſing notwithſtanding was an occaſion, that the Cardinall *Caraffe* went into the fielde, ouerranne & waſted the Neapolitane countrie, whileſt that the D. of Alua, was buſied about the Iſle & Citie of Oſtia, whereof he made himſelfe Maiſter to the great diſaduantage of the Romanes. This place being ſeated vpon the mouth of the riuer Tiber, where ſhee falleth into the Tyrrhene Sea, which vpon this occaſion ſerueth as a chiefe Magaſin for the bringing of victuals to Rome. Notwithſtanding hee tooke not the Towre and Forte of the Cittie at that blowe. In the meane time the Pope haſtened forwardes the Kinges ſuccours, and ſollicited him harde, not to ſuffer the Duke of Alua thus to ſpoyle the holy Sea: as he likewiſe did vnto the Venetians, hoping to drawe ſome ſuccour from them, but that Seigneurie comforting him with woordes, condoled his grieuous miſhappes, without vſing any other duetie, or office of amitie, ſauing that they tooke paynes to ſeeke to appeaſe the differents, and mediate a peace betweene him and the Spanyardes. While theſe thinges were a doing, and the Spaniard battering the Forte of Oſtia, the Mareſchall *Strozzie* came to the ſuccour of it with ſuch Troupes of Fraunce as he had, rearing vp certayne rampiers, and retrenches, that the enemie ſhoulde not carrie away the cattell, and other goodes of the Romanes, encloſed within that Iſle. About the ende of December, the King, as I tolde you aboue, diſpatched the Duke of Guiſe for to be Generall of the armie, which his Maieſtie ſente to the ſuccour of the Pope, and with him Duke *Aumalle*, and Duke *Elbauſe* his brethren, the Duke of Nemours, the Earle of Eu, the Vidaſme of Chartres, and other Chiefetaines, all which mette together in Ianuarie 1557. (hauing ouercome with a conſtant and opinatiue patience, the ſharpeneſſe of Winter, and difficultie of the Alpes,) at Turin the chiefe Citie of Piemont. For feare of whome the Spaniardes fortified Milan, knowing that the Frenche armie was compoſed of ſuch a nomber of men, as I haue tolde you. During which time, ſuch as were beſieged in the Forte of Oſtia, hauing abidden many aſſaultes, their powder fayling, their ſouldiars and citizens for the moſt parte hurt, in the ende yielded them ſelues by compoſition, which *Aſcaigne de la Corne* cauſed to be accorded reaſonablie enough, whereat the Romanes were ſore abaſhed. So as by the meanes of the Cardinalles of *S. Iaques*, and of *S. Flour*, they came to make a Truce for tenne dayes. During which, the Duke of Alua finiſhed the Forte which he had begunne in the Iſle, bordering on the porte of Oſtia, whither the Cardinall *Caraffe* wente vnto him, of whome he procured the prolonging of the Truce, free and marchandable for fourtie dayes, with a hope of a generall peace. But *Caraffe* tended to no other thing, then to ſolace his owne vntill the ariuall of the Frenche, of whome hee helde himſelfe alreadie all aſſured. And in the meane time hee aſſayed to drawe the Venetians to the partie, who in the ende refuſed to declare thēſelues againſt the K. of Spayne. But the D. of Ferrara followed the Popes partie, as well for that he was a vaſſall and feodarie, as in fauour of the K. of Fraunce, following the aſſociation alreadie concluded and agreed betweene them. So had he alreadie aſſurance, as I ſayde before, of the title of Defendour of the Church, which the Kings of England were wont to carrie. The League betweene the Pope, the K. & the D. of Ferrara carried: That the Pope ſhould to the nomber of twentie thouſand footmen, & one thouſand horſe furniſh the whole charges of the armie.

Oſtia taken by the D. of Alua.

The Venetians ſuccour not the Pope.

The D. of Guiſe matcheth to Rome with the French armie.

The port of Oſtia rendred by compoſition to the Spanyardes.

Truce betweene the Pope and the D. of Alua.

D. of Ferrara named the Defender of the Church.

The K. ſhould put the like nomber of ſanterie into the fielde, and 2000. horſe, & the Ferrarois 6: 00. ſouldiars, 200. men at armes, and 400. light horſe with 20. peeces of battery. Thus the D. of Guiſe being entred into Italie, with an aſſured hope to ioyne ſuch ſuccours to the forces which I haue ſhewed you, and a great nomber of the nobilitie which followed him for their owne pleaſure, (& ſuch as he mought well vaũt that he had neere hand the two tierce of the flower of the nobility of Fraunce) could not imprint into the heads of the Italians, but a feare of great miſchiefe to enſue vnto all Italie, which he put into armes, in diuers hopes and dangerous partialities, through a ſuddaine entrie of ſo many people. Moreouer euerie man doubting with himſelfe, and fearing leaſt vnder the colour of the Popes ſuccours the D. of Guiſe would giue elſewhere, was an occaſion that firſt they fortified Milan, with all her dependances. Then they prouided ſuddenly ſtrong Garriſons for Cremone, Pauia, Lode, Aſt, Valence, and other places of importance. And in the meane ſpace the Duke of Florence, armed himſelfe, and put Garriſon vpon the Frontiers of Ferrara. He furniſhed with ſouldiars Florence, Piſa, and other Townes vnder his obedience in Tuſcane, and aboue all, thoſe which neighboured vpon Bologne.

League between the Pope, the K. of Fraunce and D. of Ferrara.

Italie in armes vpon the comming of the French.

Vpon this the Duke of Alua, who was no whitte ignoraunte of the Spaniſhe forces comming againſt him, was once vpon the poynte to retyre to Naples, as well for the doubte which he had, that he ſhoulde not be able to ſuſtayne the furious aſſaulte of ſo freſhe Troupes, as to drawe them and hemme them in within the enemies Countries, thereby by little and little to conſume them with Famine, and other diſeaſes: and had done ſo, but for the Counſell of *Ferdinande Gonzague*: He reſolued then for the more expediente to reſte there, and to ſende *Garzie de Toledo*, the Compte de S. Flour, *Veſpaſian Gonzague*, and other of the Realme of Naples, to furniſhe the Townes of Capue, Arian, Saint Agathe, Venoſe, Nolle, Ciuitelle, Ateme, and the reſt which are vpon the Calabrian Sea: Iointe that the bruite ranne howe the Turkiſhe armie was to lande there in fauour of the French, as it had before done in Corſe. The Duke of Guiſe in the meane time hauing ioyned his forces in Piemont, with the Mareſchal *de Briſſaes*, was at Valence, which had for Garriſon two thouſande ſouldiars, parte Italians, parte Spaniardes, and Grizons vnder *Spoluerin*.

The D. of Alua his diſdeins.

The firſt attempts of the French armie ioyned with the Mareſchal Briſſac.

Nowe, as the Duke of Guiſe had cauſed the bruite to be giuen out, that they had taken Pauia, and that the Duke of Guiſe had cauſed Valence to be ſummoned to yeelde, or that if hee tooke it by force, he would vſe all the cruelties which coulde be looked for in a mortall warre, *Spoluerin* fearing the loſſe of his great wealth, did ſo much after ſome ſkirmiſhes, and nomber of Cannon ſhotte, as the ſouldiars condeſcended to the yeelding of the place, prouided that they mought be ſuffered to depart, liues, & goods ſaued, the which was graunted vnto thẽ about the 8. day of Ianuarie. 1557. But this Captaine *Spoluerin* and many other of the Garriſon, being retyred to Pauia, were beheadded for yeelding ſo cowardly, hauing victuall and munition at commaundement, within a verie ſtrong place, and without ſeeing ought which mought mooue them to yeelde it ſo ſoone. It was then, as the Cardinal of Trent, ſent to ſummon the D. of Guiſe, to render Valence vp into his hands, the which he had takẽ againſt the articles of Truce: but it was anſwered him, how the D. of Alua hauing firſt brokẽ, he ought not to maruel if he followed his example: & therefore that he looke for no other effect at the handes of the French then warre, vntill that reaſon were yeelded to thoſe which were moſt intereſſed, further, that hee had iuſtly handled them of Valence, for that his forces marching to

Valence yeilded vp to the D. of Guiſe.

the

the ſuccour of the Pope, had bene braued by that Garriſon, the which had ſaluted thē with Cannon ſhotte. As the Duke of Guiſe marched towardes Rome, *Strozzy*, *Monluc*, and the Duke of Palliane, perceyuing the Duke of Alua to be retired from before Rome, beſet Oſtia, with fiue hundred ſouldiers, as well Italians as Galcoignes, and ſixe hundred horſe, which carryed it away without any great paynes. Afterwardes, they beſieged the Forte, the which was yeelded vnto them in the ende by compoſition, and the Spaniards departed, liues, goods and weapons ſaued with ſome pieces of artillerie. At the verie ſame time, the Popes people tooke from the Spaniardes, the townes of Bellitre, Tuſcule Marin, (which was in olde time called *Villa Marij*, and *Grotta Ferrata*, ſome holde it was *Cicero* his place and Seigneurie, which he called *Tuſculanum*) and diuers other within the territorie of Rome: They tooke beſides Paleſan, and S. Ange, a forte ſcituate vpon a mountaine: S. Paul being likewiſe beſieged by the enemie. The Duke of Palliane ſuccoured by the Mareſchal *Strozzy* was there, and receyued the place agayne being abandoned by the Spaniardes. Then he was to beſiege Vico-Valerio which he tooke by aſſaulte, and put to fire and ſworde all thoſe which they merte in armes, giuing the pillage to the ſouldiars. All this paſſed ouer vnder the onely fright of the name of Guiſe, and of the armie which he ledde, who hauing helde a Councell at Valence, vpon the conduct of his deſſein, intelligence ſtill being of what paſſed at Rome, and hauing heard the aduice of the Mareſchal *Briſſac*, *Louys de Birague*, *Vimercat*, and other of his armie, it was concluded, that the Mareſchal and other Captaynes ordayned in Piemont, ſhoulde returne to Turin, and make as many roades as was poſſible vpon the enemies countrie. In the meane time the Duke of Guiſe ſhoulde goe towardes Ferrara, paſsing thorough the Countrie of Plaiſance, the which was accordingly done. But not without the Marques of Peſcaire his continuall being at his tayle, without any great preiudice notwithſtanding, by reaſon of the good order which he gaue in the diſcamping, & conduct of his armie, the which was furniſhed with victuals in the Placentine Countrey, by the commaundement of *Octauian Farneſe* D. of Parma: which the D. of Guiſe cauſed to be payd for, expreſly forbidding any ſouldiar to doe wrong to the ſubiectes of this Prince. We will leaue then for a while the D. of Guiſe marching with his forces in Italie to the Popes ſuccour, to enterlace you here an accidente, as ſtraunge, as any which hath happened in the memorie of our forefathers.

Oſtia and the fort thereof taken by Strozzy & Monluc

Townes taken from the Spaniardes.

The D. of Guiſe taketh Councell of what is beſt to be done after the taking of Valence.

Dauid George, who ſince made himſelfe to be called *Iean de Bruēe*, borne at Delph in Hollande, an authour of a peruerſe ſecte, making himſelfe to be named by his followers, *King* and *Chriſt* immortall, dyed the yeere paſſed, 1556. the 24. day of Auguſt, and his wife a little before retired with a verie great familie of her owne to Baſle in the yeere 1544. He ſayde he was fled his owne Countrey for the Goſpels ſake, and there bought houſes, and a Caſtle neere vnto the towne called *Buuingen*, with landes of great reuennewe. He was verie cunning, of great Spirite, and had his eyes addreſſed on all partes to gayne the heartes of many, and an exteriour reputation, which was mainteined and greatly augmented by his riches, his money, and moſt precious moueables, which he had brought thither, and which men brought vnto him day by day, as well out of the high, as lowe Countries of Flaunders, as it falleth out, that almoſt all men ſuffer themſelues to be couſined with an apparaunce, & magnificence of worldly things, rather thē to be caried away with the vertue & truth of euery thing. Two things preſaged vnto him his death, one of his houſes which he had at Baſle was ſmotte with lightning, and another ſumptuouſly builded within his

Dauid George her etique dead, & the diſcourſe of his life.

paſtures, was likewiſe burned with parte of his rareſt and moſt exquiſite moueables: ſhortly after the floure of the houſe wherein he lay, fell all downe at one blowe, and ſodainly: yet nothing happened more grieuous vnto him before his death, then the comming of a man of authoritie out of Baſe Almania to Baſle. For from thenceforth as well aduiſed and forecaſting, hee knewe that by little and little he ſhoulde eaſily be diſcouered. His diſciples were marueilouſly aſtoniſhed at his death, for that he had aſſured them of his immortalitie, yet their hope was ſomewhat vpheld, becauſe he had giuen them to vnderſtande certayne dayes before, howe he ſhoulde take life againe, by the ſpace of three yeeres, and perfect moſt excellent things. Hee kept a porte within his houſe almoſt like a King, in like ſorte was the gouernement of his houſe and caſtle very well ruled. Euerie man had his eſtate and office: their charges and dueties being ſo diſtributed, as he ſhoulde neede to employe no other therein then his owne. In gouerning their common wealth, they obſerued verie ſtraightly 3. things, thereby more and more to conceale their pernitious ſecte. Firſt that none of them once publiſhed the name of *Dauid George*. Secondly that none reueyled of what condition hee had bene: whereupon it grew that many thought hee had beene yſſued out of ſome great noble Houſe, other that hee was ſome great Marchaunt, which had his factours abroad both by Sea and by land. Thirdly that they ſhoulde not diſcouer ſo much as any one article of their doctrine to any man in Baſle, not ſo much as to a *Swizer*, nor ſhoulde not endeuour to drawe any man vnto their doctrine: the ſumme whereof was.

The doctrine of *Dauid George* Heretique.

That whatſoeuer had bene heretofore giuen from God by Moſes, by the Prophetes, by Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, or by his Apoſtles, was imperfecte, and vnprofitable for the obtayning of the true felicitie thereby: And was onely giuen for this vſe, that vntill then it mought repreſſe men, as babes, and young children: and to contayne them within their office: But the doctrine of Dauid George *was perfecte, and had efficacie to make him happie which ſhoulde receaue it, as being the true Chriſt and Meſſias, the welbeloeud of the Father, in whome hee tooke his delight, not borne of fleſhe, but of the holy Ghoſt and Spirite of Ieſus Chriſt, hauing bene kept vntill that preſent in a place vnkowen to all the Saintes, to reſtore in ſpirite the houſe of Iſrael, not by croſſes or tribulations, or death as the other Chriſt, but by loue & grace of the Spirite of Chriſt.*

Informations, proceedinges, & iudgementes of the Seignurie of Baſle, vpon the bodie and goods of *Dauid George* and of the followers of his faith and religion.

In the yeere 1559. the 5. of March, his children, his ſonnes in lawe, and all them of his familie, with ſome other adhering to his Secte, were adiourned before the Senate of Baſle, after information made of that pernicious ſecte, which he had alwayes helde in his life time. The Attorney declared vnto them, howe the Seignеurie ſtoode duely infourmed, that they were retyred to the Caſtle of Buiuignen, not as men perſecuted for the Goſpell, as they had falſly giuen out, but for the ſecte of *Dauid*, wherewith they had bene alreadie infected. Eleuen were made priſoners to draw out the trueth of the whole. The greater part examined by a more ſtraight inquiſition confeſſed the truth: who in the ende obtayned pardon. Then the firſt day of May, the Miniſters, Rectour, Profeſſors, and Scholemaiſters of Baſle, hauing all with one voyce condemned the pointes of the doctrine, the Senate fully informed of the whole, proceeded the 13. of May to the concluſion of the proces, to wit, *That all his writinges, as full of iniquitie, & mortall poyſon, Item his bodie, or his bones, and whatſoeuer ſhoulde be founde more within his graue, ſhoulde be burned, together with his*

picture

picture which they founde in his house, representing him verie lively: and that generally all the goodes of so wicked a man, whereſoeuer they were founde, ſhoulde be confiſcate and adiudged to the Seigneurie.

This ſentence was proclaimed according to the Cuſtome of the place, and all the fourme of righte and ordinances of the Towne was kepte in the obſeruation thereof. Before that I handle againe the rearmes of warre, betweene the Frenche and Spanyardes, I will finiſhe, and in fewe wordes, the Empire, and managing of the affayres of *Charles* of Auſtria the fifte, Emperour of the Almanes.

About the ende of Auguſt, *Charles* of Auſtria reſolued to paſſe into Spayne for the occaſions before rehearſed, wente from Bruxelles to Gaunt, the place of his natiuitie, where he aſſembled the 27. of that moneth, all the Embaſſadours one after an other, reſiant about his Perſon, within his chamber, vſing in generall no other ſpeech vnto them, but of the declaration of his old age & indiſpoſition, praying the to perfourme all good offices for the repoſe due vnto Chriſtendome: Proteſting to the *Nuncio* (that is the Popes Embaſſadour,) how all his life long, hee had loued and defended the holy apoſtolike Sea: & to the Venetian, how much hee honored that Seigneurie & common wealth, whoſe libertie, & preſeruation he had all his life long deſired, knowing howe much ſhee nouriſhed, and mainteyned the repoſe of Italie. That his Sonne ſhoulde followe him therein, hauing leſte it as an expreſſe, nay teſtamentarie commaundement vnto him. To them of Ferrara and Mantoue hee ſpake in generall, but ſomewhat more particularly to the Florentine, charging him to write vnto his Maiſter, that he ſhoulde neuer lende his eare to any newe practiſes againſt his houſe, nor paſſe nothing without aduertiſing of his Sonne, as hee had verye well done, vntill that preſent, and whereby he thought hee tooke no harme, as it appeared. Hereupon, the Embaſſadour, who was a Biſhoppe, woulde haue diſſwaded his departure, and ſhewed him, howe his moſt affectionate friendes were much aſtonied, conſidering eſpecially that all reaſons, and good diſcourſe, were cleane contrary to ſuch a reſolution. And that in ſtead of goyng into Spayne, he were better drawe vp into Italie, or at the leaſt not abandon his Sonne, whome he mought aſſiſt with his good counſayle. To whom aunſwearing, that he could not imagine an olde Prince, euill diſpoſed, and afflicted in all partes as he was, was able to doe as a young Prince, whome he leſte ſo well inſtructed, and in ſo good a will to ſhewe himſelfe great, and a man of warre if hee were vrged thereto: and that it ſhoulde be well knowne, howe his abſence ſhoulde no whitte at all preiudice his friendes. The Biſhoppe woulde haue replyed vpon the affaires and greatneſſe of this worlde, but he interrupted him, praying him to thinke, that his thoughtes were no longer entercommoners with the worlde, to which he badde farewell, and to him likewiſe, and ſo they departed. After hee was at Sail fiue Leagues from Gaunte, where his Sonne gaue him the laſt adieu. Himſelfe goyng downe the riuer to embarque at Vliſhing in Zelande, whither the Queenes *Allenor*, and *Marye* his Siſters followed him, vntill he was embarqued. Then *Philip* made his retourne to Gaunte, where the multitude of affayres beganne to ſolicite his brayne, eſpecially in the expedition of them, in the remarke of humane actions, in the choiſe, and recompence of his ſeruauntes, whome hee choſe and cheriſhed, after another maner of faſhion then his Father. But I muſt agayne handle the enterpriſe of the Frenche vpon Italie, in fauour of Pope *Iulye*, whoſe diſſeins and conducte the better to open vnto you, I am content to reſearch the affayres of Piemont, where they paſſed ſomewhat in a higher kinde.

The ſpeech which *Charles* of Auſtria vſed to the Embaſſadors reſiante about his perſon. when as he lefte Flaunders to retourne into Spayne, there to finiſh his dayes.

To

The meanes which the K. vſed to make the D. of Guiſes armie to paſſe into Italy to the ſuccour of the Pope.

To fauour the paſſage of the Duke of Guiſes armie, the King had alreadie commaunded the Mareſchal *Briſſac*, who was but a little before come out of Piemont to the Courte, (where *de Termes* commaunded in his abſence) to returne thither agayne, and make readie another armie, the better to ſecond the Dukes in Romaigne, and aſſay to make ſome other exployts for the ſeruice of his Maieſtie, with promeſſe that he ſhoulde not be farre gonne on his iourney before money ſhoulde bee ſente him, as well to paye the olde bandes of Fraunce and Italye lying in Piemont, as to prepare the newe forces, which was conuenient he ſhoulde adde thereunto. Not ſeeing for all that, the effecte of the prouiſion of the ſayde money to followe, which was promiſed vnto him for the men of warre, pioners, horſe to drawe the artillerie, building of bridges vpon boates, munitions of victualles, and other things neceſſary to the following of an armie, he made many diſpatches and inſtances vnto his Maieſtie, and the Conеſtable, who as then had the Superintendance of all the affayres of the Realme, but hee coulde onely obtayne a ſlowe and no compleate prouiſion: and leſſe to perfourme any aduauncement of honour to any Captaynes of marke as their ſeruices deſerued.

The breach of Truce begun by the aſſayling of Valence in the Dutchie of Milan

Notwithſtanding about the ende of December, 1556. the Mareſchall made an other recharge to the ſame ende, and likewiſe gaue his Maieſtie to vnderſtande of the reſolution taken betweene the Duke of Guiſe and him, vpon the breach of the Truce, and paſſage of the armie into Italye: which breach began vpon the enterpriſe, as they fantaſied vnto themſelues, of the towne of Valence within the Dutchie of Milan, hauing after many deliberations found this enterpriſe moſt fitte and commodious for the more eaſie paſſage of the Dukes armie. The armie beyng readie in the moneth of Ianuarie, albeit it was not ſuccoured with the aſſignations promiſed, yet not to ſuffer it for default thereof to lye ſtill, the Mareſchal borrowed vpon his owne credite, many groſſe ſummes, and eſpecially of the Duke of Guiſe. Yet all was ſo little to the price of that which was due, as they had much adoe to drawe the olde Italian bandes out of their garriſons, or any of the new french Companyes. Which made the armie more weake then it would haue bene. As the Secretarie *Bonnin* declared, who as well for the effecte, as the reaſons aboueſayde, was expreſly diſpatched: chiefely likewiſe to giue his Maieſtie to vnderſtande, how to the ende the platte countrie of Piemont, mought not be leſte in praye to the garriſons of Aſte, Valſerniere, Foſſan, and Coni, whiles the forces of the Countrie were ſo farre eſloigned off, it was thought fitte to make a Leuie of 3000. foote, and 200. light horſe, which ſhoulde lye diſperſed about the Imperiall garriſons, and the money for their payment leuyed vpon the Countrie. Whereto thoſe which were choſen made great difficultie to conſente, yet all was well executed in the ende. And the 14. of Februarie, *S. Foy* had the charge giuen vnto him of 5. Companies of Piemont, and 100. light horſe, and the reſt of the ſaid Leuies, were from hand to hand diſtributed rounde about theſe Garriſons. The which cauſed great ſuertie, commoditie and ſuccour to his Maieſties affayres. Then according to the reſolution taken vpon the breache of Truce, the two armies marched towardes Valence, which they aſſayled the 12. day of Ianuarie. So as after the Batterie had bene layed vnto it, the 14. of that moneth, the Gouernour rendred it vp, vpon the occaſions beforſayde. This done, they helde a Counſell to aduiſe, vpon what ſhoulde be neceſſarye as well for the paſſage of the D. of Guiſe, as the reſt of the affayres concerning the K. ſeruice. To whome among other particulars it was propoſed by the Mareſchall, that his Maieſties intente being to ſuccour the Pope, it was beſt to bethinke of the propieſt and moſt eaſieſt meanes to execute his Commaundemente, and increaſe his authoritie

The order which the Mareſchal Briſſac gaue in Piemont.

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in Italie. Which as then was verie easie, the enemies and especially the Inhabitantes of Milan being in such fright and feare, as standing very tickle within the Towne, which was abandoned by a great nomber of men, seeing the greater parte without any Fortresse, it was very easie for the Duke taking that way, to enter in: Iointe that there were no forces to hinder him, or which durst oppose themselues against him. That being Maister of the Towne, he shoulde be consequently of the whole Estate, hauing power to commaunde there with such authoritie, as in fewe dayes he shoulde haue meanes to finishe what remained therein to be fortified with earth and faggots, to cutte off and couer the saide Towne from the Castle. To fauour which enterprise, and occasion more businesse vnto the enemies, the Mareschal offered to goe besiege some little towne there, if he founde any facilitie at all to essay with, the Artillerie to carrie it away, and that in the meane time *Saluoisin* Gouernour of Casal, shoulde goe at a day agreed vpon betweene the Generals attempte, with the souldiers of the Garrison, the execution of the enterprise which he had vpon the Towne of Alexandria, of the places of most importaunce of the state of Milan. Whereof there coulde no other then a good yssue bee expected, as well by the intelligence which one gaue from thence vnto the Counsell, & whom the Captaine *Saluoisins* Secretarie expresly went to fetch for that purpose, as that *Saluoisin* had him selfe taken a view of the place. And to the ende that *Saluoisin* mought the better keepe it being taken, the Mareschall promised to come thither on the morrowe after the execution thereof with his whole armie: as well to assist *Saluoisin*, as to prouide for whatsoeuer shoulde be necessarie for the assuraunce, and conseruation of the place, and that shortelie after he woulde marche to Milan, to giue order with the Duke of Guise for the getting of the Castle, and for such affayres as concerned the Kinges seruice: and so to make the State assured vnto his Maiestie. Thorough the consideration whereof it was not to be doubted, but the Duke of Alua with the forces which hee had in Romagne, woulde leaue the Countrie to come succour the rest of that Estate: as a matter of greater importaunce vnto his Maister, then the quarrell of the Pope. Who notwithstanding shoulde by this meanes haue the succoures which he desired, without hazzarding an armie in such daungers as mought fall out in so long voyages, and to which all such as haue heretofore passed thorowe Italie in fauour of the Popes, haue for the most parte beene subiecte. Thus shoulde the will of his Maiestie be perfourmed, with the Conquest of an whole Estate, for which, Warre had beene so long time made in the House of Fraunce. Furthermore the hope and apparaunce which was there to gayne the whole, or at the least a great parte of the Seigneurie of Genes, yea by the inhabitauntes owne good will, thorough the necessitie of Victualles, into which they were brought. Prouided that his Maiestie, to whome a dispatche for that ende shoulde be sente, woulde commaunde the Galleyes of Marseilles to scowre the Seas, and to keepe the Coast of Sicilie in subiection, to keepe the Genowaies from beeing that wayes any more succoured with Corne, then they shoulde bee out of Piemont. And indeede the dearthe was there so great, for the small time which they were in the Duchie of Milan, and thourough the taking of Valence, as that a sacke of Corne was worth tenne Crownes. The propositions being at large debated of, were in the ende founde so good, and accompanyed with so apparaunt reasons, as the most parte of them which were of the Counsell, seeing the importaunce of such Estates, as those of Milan and of Genes, which made a way vnto his Maiestie to encrease his power and authoritie in Italie, Iointe the vncertaine and so variable occurrents, as

Enterprise of Milan.

What successe the French armies haue had in Italie, especially in the conquest of the Realme of Naples.

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mought befall an Armie, in so long a voyage, and by such an enemie so readie and resolute, were of opinion, that they were to bee hearkened vnto, and that his Maiestie shoulde with all dilligence be aduertised thereof. But the Duke of Guise hauing an other intent of greater importaunce, tolde them that hee had receyued Commaundement from the King to proceede onwardes and not to stay: An occasion that many haue since depraued this his aduise, especially after the ende of his enterprise.

But *Lautrec* in the like accidente, conducting the Frenche armie, for the taking of Naples, after the deliuerie of *Frauncis* the first, allied with the Potentates of Italie, 1527. hauing taken the Towne of Bosco, Alexandria, Vigeneue, Pauia, and other places, as it was deliberated in Counsell, whether they shoulde staye vpon the Conqueste of Milan, (to which they which helde the Frenche partie besought him to employe his men, considering the resolution of them, and the fright of their enemies,) or passe forwardes, aunswered that hee had commaundement to seeke further, and that he was principally sent into Italie, for the deliuerie of Pope *Clement*.

True it is, that some thought *Lautrec* tooke this resolution, fearing least if they shoulde conquerre the Dutchie of Milan, the Venetians being confederate with the Frenche, woulde bee careless to succour the King in the Conqueste of Naples. And it is possible likewise that the King thought, it woulde be better for him that *Frauncis Sforze* mought not entirely recouer this Estate, to the ende that no power remayning vnto him to bee able to vndertake ought, hee mought the more easilye obtayne the deliueraunce of his children, as yet the Emperours prisoners, by waye of accorde, which continually was treated of, about the Emperour, by the Embassadours of Fraunce, Englande, and Venise.

Thus then the D. of Guise resolued vpon his first aduise, caused a bridge of boates to be made at Basignaue ouer the riuer Tauaro, where his armie seconded with the Mareschal *Brissacs*, passed ouerto perfourme the voyage of Italie. And to the ende that it mought bee done with more suretie, and that hee mought auoyde the meeting of the forces which the Marquesse of Pescarie caused in all dilligence to bee assembled, thereby to cutte him off from his passage, the Mareschal entered within Laumeline, with a countenaunce as though he would marche towardes Milan: An occasion that the Marquesse turned bridle suddainely towardes Milan, with the fewe forces which hee had, suffering the Duke of Guise freely to passe, and his armie, whither it liked him best.

Vpon whose Ariuall, the Duke of Alua, for wante of money, and to suffer the first furie of the Frenche to coole, leuyed his siege from Rome, and retired vpon the borders of the Kingdome of Naples, there to defende the Frontiers from the disseins of the Frenche.

As for the Duke of Florence, he to keepe his dependances from waste, and spoile of the enemie, and likewise to get leysure to goe on with his Fortresses, lent his eare to some alliaunce with the King. But fortified as he was, hee retyred within his Towne. In such sorte, as *Pierre Strossi* Mareschal of Fraunce, being departed one of the first, and enclosed himselfe within Rome, with a nomber of French and Italians, had alreadie vnder the fauour of the Dukes comming, combated, and taken certayne Fortes and Blockehouses, builded by the Imperialles rounde about the Towne, and vpon the Tiber: so as the Pope was before the ariuall of the Frenche, as it were, restored into full libertie, and Rome assured of her enemies.

I will

I will shewe you by and by what the Duke did as soone as he was approched vnto the capitall Citie of Italie, against the disseins of his enemies, who prepared themselues to all euentes, and in sundrie places.

Nowe, albeit there was no talke of any warre in Fraunce, but onely by murmurs, and particular presages, more then any publique declarations, many presumed that the warre of Italie woulde giue a beginning to that of Fraunce, yet the bruite being giuen out, howe the Arthois and Henaute Garrisons were reenforced to make a checke vpon some of the Frontiers, the Admirall Gouernour of Picardie, thinking to playe with the cunningest, meant to preuent them, and first of all, himselfe to breake the Truce in Picardie. In such sorte, as about the beginning of Ianuarie. 1557. hauing ambushte himselfe neare Douay, hee had entred in, in the night, while the most parte of the Garrison was droncke, with drinking and crying the king drinkes, had not an olde woman by her long and lowde cryinges out, of Arme, Arme, the Frenche, giuen in the ende the Alarme thorough out, hauing soone ynough discouered some indiscreete persons among the formost of the French. But being retourned to Lans in Arthois, and entered within, he suffered it to be so pilled, as the Imperialles for a long time reproached those cruelties to the Frenche: besides that they alleadged the taking thereof, among the first occasions of the breache of Truce.

Warre begunne in Fraunce against the Truce.

The Admirall breaketh the Truce in Fraunce.

You see then on this and that side, the Spanyarde and Frenche disposed to warre, seeking all meanes to ruyne them selues more furiously then euer. Nowe for that the broyles in Piemont, as the first seeme to mee more remarkeable, Iointe that certaine monethes passed ouer in Fraunce, and the Countries bordering about, in the preparations of a future warre, without any other more notable effectes then aboue rehearsed, I will remember againe the Mareschall *Brissac*, to shewe you, howe hauing taken the Imperialles at vnawares, he pursued the poynte of his aduauntages.

After the departure of the Duke of Guise and his armie, the Mareschall gaue himselfe to fortifie and munition Valence with all that was necessarie: abiding notwithstanding, a certaine time in Lomline, to holde the Generall of the Imperialles in suspence of his disseins. And had vndertaken matters of greater importaunce, had money beene in his handes to contente his people, and furnishe out such thinges as were needefull for him. But for want thereof, resolued to retire himselfe, and keepe his aduantages, hee furnished Casal, Montcalue, Valence, and Santia, each of them with ten Enseignes of Fanterie, and some Cauallerie, against the enterprises of the Marquesse, whose Forces grewe greater to the diminution of the French, for the occasions abouesayde. And albeit that the want of money, and the cutting off alreadie made by the King of certaine Companies of Piemont, as well in nomber as in paye, were sufficient occasions to hinder the Estate of his affayres in that Countrey, he sente vnto the Mareschall notwithstanding about the ende of Februarie, that in any sorte soeuer, hee shoulde not meddle with the dead payes. And that euery moneth he shoulde send him an accounte, to the ende he mought assigne warrant for money to the Treasourer of the extraordinarie: without any whitte regarding howe nothing hauing bene sente for the artillerie carriages, Pioners, munitions, commissaries, and matters vnlooked for, the Mareschall saide hee was fayne to helpe himselfe with those dead paies. So as founding vpon such defaults the smal aduancement which he made in Piemont, & seeing how he preached to a deafe eare, hee besought but in vaine his Maiestie, about the moneth of May, to sende some

Gentleman

Gentleman vnto him, to controle his actions, to the ende that no euill mought bee presumed of him. This notwithstanding, albeit that hee durste not muster his armie, for feare of mutinies, thorough wante of paye, and that he was resolued not to remayne ydle, hee employed his credite to recouer a summe of money, to make a loane vnto the companyes of Fanterie, attending the Kinges money. And hauing thus made them to goe into the fielde, hee ledde them, for the execution of the Counsell, to batter, and take in parley, the 22. of Aprill, Valeserniere, notwithstanding the great and continuall raynes, all the while that the siege endured. A Towne which wasted all Piemont, and scowred the way from Ast, to Cony, Queras, and Emeraste: and Queras being with the selfe same furie, besieged, battered, and suddainely assayled, was taken by force the 29. of Aprill, the fourth day of the siege. Whereupon to encrease this fire of good will, and make the poore souldier to liue, more vpon the expence of the enemie, then of the allie, the siege of Cony was resolued vpon and begonne in the same moneth. Whether the K. sent money, which very little exceeded the only pay of the Zwizers. The Mareschall notwithstanding appointed mustars to be taken, of the French and Italian Fanterie. But as soone as the souldiers knewe, that they woulde giue but a crowne apiece to a man, and that by the handes of the Treasourer, the souldiers were not slacke to mutinie, and goe away in great Troupes, considering their long seruices, which had neuer beene acknowledged, and the newe fashion of paying them, by other mens hands then their Captaines: who shewing themselues no lesse grieued, and resting the beholders of such insolencies, without stirring to punish any, they made the Mareschal goe himselfe to procure them to returne backe, and assure them that the money should be deliuered vnto their Captaines, to distribute as they were accustomed. And albeit that so little money did not much content them, yet the siege was continued. In which the Mareschall seeing that the batterie wrought no great effecte, and yet they which were besieged, shewed a countenaunce as if they woulde yeelde if they were lustily pursued, it was agreed that a myne shoulde bee made, right against the Batterie. Wherein they wrought long with daunger and difficultie notwithstanding. But in in the ende being finished, well closed, and sealed vp, the fire put, and the assaulte giuen by the ruyne which it had lefte, the order established for the assaulte was so euill kepte, and besides the Souldiars wente so slackely to worke, as the Maister of the Campe being slayne, and a nomber of Gentlemen and Souldiers, who were the first which aduaunced formost, being dead on the earth, and the rest beaten backe with the hurte of many gallaunt men, the euente shewed howe of an armie euill satisfied, full of Captaynes and Souldiers discontented and disobedient, no other successe ought to be hoped for then vnfortunate.

In the meane time the Mareschall sente to declare vnto the King, together with the necessities of his armie, and the feare least all woulde turne to ruyne for him, the instance which the Duke of Ferrara made, to cause the French armie to approache to the Dutchie of Milan, to the ende to helpe it with his forces and disseins: and likewise the impossibilitie of beeing able to satisfie it, without paying at least the Fanterie.

Not long after, the Mareschall hauing receyued newes, howe the Marquesse of Pescare was ariued at Fossan, with some forces in intention to approch neare Cony, to fauour them within, or assaye to compell the siege to be raysed, a Counsell was helde, and resolued to abandon Cony, to marrch right towardes the Marquesse. But as soone as hee perceyued the Mareschall to approache, he retired into Fossan,

to

to the which the Frenche ſtill approached. By meanes whereof the Marqueſſe fearing to bee encloſed there, conſequently himſelfe to reduce this place to extreame neceſſitie, he wrought ſo well, as with the whole Infanterie he gayned Cony: But from thence not knowing howe to retume, he was conſtrayned to leade his men a trauerſe the mountaines to gayne the Sea ſhoare, and ſaue his people as well as hee mought. The difficultie of the wayes notwithſtanding was founde ſuch, as he loſt many of his people, and they which ſaued themſelues, ſo wearie, and defeated, as it was not poſsible to bee more. As for his men at armes, and his Cauallerie, they remayned ſtill within Foſſan. Therefore it was agreed, that waſte ſhoulde bee made there round about. And further that Forces ſhould be layed all alongeſt the paſſages and wayes, that none of the Cauallerie mought eſcape.

During the time that it was thus encloſed, many fayre feates, and notable ſkirmiſhes were vndertaken, and diuerſly executed: Namely by the Vidaſme of Chartres, Colonell of the Fanterie of Piemont, *D'Anuille de Terrides*, and others, with ſo good watche kept all alongeſt the paſſages, as many Troupes of this Cauallerie, which was no leſſe then betweene one thouſande and twelue hundred horſe, were entrapped and defeated. The Frenche in the meane ſpace, entertayned the ſiege before Cony, and many Gentlemen and Captaynes trauayled, who ſhoulde be marked to worke moſt to the damage of the beſieged. Among the reſt, woorde was ſente vnto the King of the feates done by the Vidaſme, ſince the rayſing of the ſiege. Eſpecially in the breaking vp of milles, which had bene repayred by them of the Towne, blocked with a nomber of Fortes, which marueilouſly annoyed him. And likewiſe the happie enterpriſes atchieued about Foſſan, by *De Termes*, *Gonor*, *D'Anuille*, and other, who gaue ſo ſmall reſte to their Troupes of Cauallerie, eſpecially their light horſe, whoſe courſings out were more ordinarie, & remarkeable, as all thought they had yeilded occaſions enough vnto his Maieſtie, to be well and ſufficiently requited, for ſo well perfourming of their duetie.

You ſhall ſee howe, and wherefore the meanes wanted vnto their Prince rather then the will, through the accidents, which leſſe fortunate in other places of Fraunce then in Piemont, happened at the ſame time, to counterpeaſe the Mareſchals good fortune by the diſgrace of his Coneſtable, as I will make you to perceyue, if you well and dilligently marke all the notable particularities, which I will deduce vpon ſuch and ſo important an occurrence. For it is leſſe then nothing to knowe the inconuenience of the iourney of Saint Quentins: That is knowne as well to fooles as wiſe men, younge, and olde, men and women, homebirdes and ſtraungers, friendes & enemies. But to applie it to ones profite, to the ſuretie, and aduauncement of the State, one muſt vnderſtande the beginning and true motiue: dilligently, and with affection marke the meanes as well forced as voluntarie, by which this diſfauour happened: then note the effectes of them, and in the ende conſider the good and the badde, which hath enſewed vnto Fraunce, and the Countreyes aboute, vnder the obedience of theſe two Princes. This is called to reaſon of, and to reade Hiſtories as it appertayneth. The which I will doe, hauing repreſented vnto you the deportement of the Duke of Guiſe, and his Armie in Italie.

From Plaiſantin the Duke of Guiſe went to Regge, a Towne which appertained to the D. of Ferrara his father in law, who mette him at Pont de Leuz, & all in compony, with the Cardinall *Caraffe*, ſente thither by the Pope entered within Regge, where they conſulted of the diſſein, meanes, & conduct of this warre. Some would haue

haue gone into Lombardie to attempt the getting of Cremone and Pauia, whileſt that *Briſſac* dyd his dutie vpon that ſide of Nouarre and Valence. Other who conſidered that in ſo dooing they ſhould giue leaſure to the Duke of Alua to fortifie himſelfe, and to make a leauie of men, as well within the kingdome of Naples as Tuſcane, without forcing for all that, any one of thoſe Townes furniſhed with all thinges neceſſarie, were of opinion that they ſhould ruſh vpon Tuſcane to deliuer Siene out of the Florentines and Spaniardes handes. The Cardinall *Caraffe* founde it moſt aduantagious to aſſayle the kingdome of Naples, by the March of Ancone (the territorie of the ancient Picentines) ſaying that on that ſide of Terre de Labour, hee might conquere as much of the Countrie as ſeemed good vnto him. But the Duke of Ferrara maintained, that the Duke of Guiſe being come for the cauſe of his holyneſſe, he ought likewiſe to go ſtraight on to Rome, and imploy himſelfe to the defence of the Pope. And that afterwardes the reſt ſhould bee thought of. That in the meane time hee would keepe himſelfe with his forces in his owne Countries, foraſmuch as he miſted not the Duke of Parma his neighbour, hauing entered into league with king *Philip*: and that he feared beſides leaſt the Florentine would make roades into his lands, if hee eſloigned himſelfe. So as according to this aduiſe the Duke of Guiſe marched with *Caraffe* towardes Bologne, and the Duke of Ferrara leauing the Prince *Alphonce* his ſonne for his lieutenant, went to Veniſe to anſwere the Embaſſadour of Spaine, who made there grieuous complaintes againſt him, blaming the Pope, and King *Henrye* to make warre vniuſtly againſt his Maiſter, and to breake the truce ſo neceſſarie to Chriſtendome: beſeeching the Seigneurie to make warre againſt the Ferrarois, and to enter into league with the Catholique King. Now as the Duke of Ferrara ſoiorned at Veniſe, the Marqueſſe of Peſcare ſeaſed vppon the Towne of Corregge, whence ſprange the firſt beginning of the war in the Countrie of Ferrara. An occaſion, that the Duke leauing Veniſe returned into his owne lands, to fortifie Modene, Carpi, and other places of his Seigneuries: whileſt that the Duke of Guiſe at Bologne, complayned to the Popes miniſters, howe he ſawe no ſuch preparation of warre, as had bene promiſed vnto the King. But they contented him, when they tolde him that there were tenne thouſand men in the March d'Ancone. And hauing paſſed by Imole, Rauenne, Faenze, & Ceſene, he came to Rimini, where he viewed, and muſtered his Troupes, which he found to amount vnto fiue thouſande Swizers, ouer which the Marqueſſe d'Albauf his brother commaunded: foure thouſand Griſons, ſeauen thouſand French, and Gaſcoignes, ſome Italians, fiue hundred and fiftie men at armes, and fifteene hundred light horſe. Ouer the Fanterie commaunded the Duke of Neuers. *Cipierre* was Maiſter of the Campe. *Tauannes*, and *La Motte Gondrin*, were Mareſchalles of the Campe. On the other ſide the Mareſchall *Briſſac* comming out with his Forces into the fielde, cauſed Valle-Feniere to bee beſieged, a ſtrong place ſcituate betweene Aſt, and Carmignolle, which he enforced to yeild by compoſition, for the want of victuals which the Spanyardes had that helde it: afterwardes it was ruyned topſie toruie. This done, hee made Chiauaſſe to be aſſailed, a Caſtle ſcituate in a high place, and bordering vpon Vlpian, which hee carryed away, albeit it was furniſhed with all thinges neceſſarie, and there he put in a ſtrong Garriſon to keepe it. While theſe thinges were a doing, the Duke of Alua cauſed his Armie to turne head, as though hee meante to goe to the Kingdome of Naples to defende it, imagining that the Duke of Guiſe woulde marche thither. Then hee furniſhed, & fortified the townes of Arbuzze, a countrie neighbouring to the march

D. of Ferrara at Veniſe and why

Corregge taken by the Spaniards vpon the D. of Ferrara.

The French army in Italie.

D. of Alua in the Kingdome of Naples.

of

of Acone, and in the meane ſpace the Duke of Guiſe tooke Campilio, and beſieged Ciuitelle, ſcituate vpon the Tiber on Tuſcane ſide, mounted vppon a high hillocke, hauing a rocke for the foundation of the wals, and of a moſt harde acceſſe vnto it. So as nature ſeruing it for a rampire, it ſeemed almoſt impregnable, thorough the greate ſteepes of her moſt deepe valleyes, all alongeſt which runneth the riuer Viperate. An occaſion that it laie not in the power of the French to inforce it, but they were fayne to leauie the ſiege after they had loſt many good ſouldyers and valyant men. Lykewiſe little dyd the Marſhall of Briſſac gayne at the ſame time by the ſiege of Conte; For albeit that he had battered day and night this place appertayning to the Duke of Sauoy, yet hee was faine to leaue it in the end, for the ſuccour which the Marqueſſe of Peſcare had brought thether. Now albeit the Duke of Guiſe aduaunced lyttle before Ciuitelle, the Duke of Alua notwythſtanding came to leauie the ſiege. So, as hauing ſent certaine troupes vnder the charge of *Garſie de Toledo*, and Countie de Pepoly, to ſee what countenance the French made, they were ſo roughly reencountered, as *Garſie* beeing defeated, and his troupes put in rout, *Pierre Henriques* maſter of the Duke of Alua his campe, was there taken, and almoſt all the Spaniardes cut in peeces, by the Vidaſme of Chartres, *Thuannes*, *Cipierre*, and others. Afterwardes the French beeing conſtrayned to leaue the place for the reaſons aboueſayde, were drawen to Mont-fort by the inhabitants, who ſaying they were not able to ſupporte the inſolencie of the Spaniardes, woulde not bee reduced vnder the obedience of the Pope. But they coulde not yeelde the towne, which was the cauſe that the Duke de Palliane hauing battered it and ſcaled it, carryed it awaye by aſſault. The Spaniardes beeing retyred by another place of the Towne, and ſo the Citizens bare theyr pennance, beeing well pilled, theyr towne burned, and halfe ruined. Afterwardes the Duke of Palliane, and the Marſhall *Strozzie* ioyned both theyr forces with the Duke of Guiſes. Who ſeeing that what the Popes Legates and Nounces promiſed vnto the King, was but winde without effect, and that there was no meanes to increaſe his forces in Italie, as the Duke of Alua dyd his ordinarily: hee wrote vnto the King, giuing him to vnderſtand, that wythout newe ſuccours it was vnpoſsible for him to aduance his deſſeine, conſidering his enemyes forces, and the ſmall fauour which hee founde in thoſe quarters. Some haue left in writing, that that which moued the Duke of Guiſe to write in that manner vnto the King, was for that he was aduertiſed, how *Codognac* the kings Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, was diſmiſſed of his charge, and *La Vigne* put into his place. And as hee attended one hundred Turkiſh Gallyes which were promiſed by *Soliman* to *Codognac* for his ſuccours, hee receyued intelligence how the Turke had chaunged his mind, through ſome too high words vttered by *La Vigne*. Others ſaie that it was thorough the practiſe of ſome French men, enemies to *La Vigne*. In ſuch ſorte as the Kinges ſeruice was thus retarded in Italie, for occaſions ſlight inough. *Natalis* Countie of Nuouolare, confeſſed that the Turke woulde not ſtirre one whit in this buſineſſe for the king in Italy, for that hee ſawe no profite redound to himſelfe. Ioynt that hee doubted leaſt the Chriſtians agreeing together woulde ſeeke to diminiſhe his forces, and afterwardes make ſome attempt agaynſt him. And in deede thoſe which were in Corſe at ſuch time as *Dragut-Rais* brought thether the Turkes ſuccours, knowe that when the French beſieged Calui, as the Turkes had demaunded the firſt point of the aſſaulte, ſeeing themſelues cruelly and bloudily cut in peeces, they beganne to ſuſpect and miſtruſte the Chriſtians, to ſee howe the Spaniardes and the Frenchmen made

Ciuitelle reſcued from the French.

warre the more gently one vpon another. And *Iorden Vrſin* had inough to do to content them, and to pul out that hard impreſsion which they had conceiued againſt the French.

The Duke of Guiſe in ſumme, ſeeing howe on all partes the effectes fayled of ſo rich promiſes as had beene made vnto his maſter, and confirmed vnto him ſince his comming into Italy. Ioyne that the forces of the Spaniſh Duke beganne to growe greater, and increaſe in courage, by the aduertiſement which they had of the neceſſities of the French; before that his owne were too much diminiſhed, and the aduantage too euidently turned elſewhere, reſolued to put it to the hazarde of one daie. Therefore ſeeing himſelfe neere enough vnto the Duke of Alua his campe, he preſented battell vnto him betweene Fermie and Aſcolye. To which the Spaniarde woulde not hearken: Were it that hee found himſelfe too weake, or that he thought by delaie hee might better ſerue his turne. In the meane time King *Phillip* had no ſooner made the aduauntage of his armie to appeare in Picardie, but the King ſent to the Duke of Guiſe, that hee ſhoulde retire home. Who ſeeing that all the burthen of the warre lighted on the Kings armes, and that it was ſo farre of from the Popes furniſhing of twentie thouſand men, as hee had promiſed, that hee was not able to paie ſixe thouſand, nor diſburſe the fourth parte of the charge of the armie. Ioynte that the Ferrarois were ſo farre from ſuccouring the Pope or the King, as the Duke of Guiſe was faine to ayde him with ſome of his men, fearing beſides leaſt the Pope woulde make a peace wythout comprehending the King therein, concluded to returne into France. But the Pope fearing to bee leſte alone, and leaſt hee ſhould be afterwardes compelled to accord at the will and diſcretion of the Spaniard, ſware vnto him that hee woulde neuer agree wythout the Kinges aduiſe and conſent thereto: and how for the better aſſurance thereof hee woulde ſende his ſonne the Duke of Palliane, as hoſtage into Fraunce. So as this ſo large an offer retayned the French longer, during whoſe vaine aboade there happened the deſeate of Saint Quentin in Permandois. Whith beeing knowen at Rome, ſo greatly aſtonied the Pope, as ſeeing himſelfe out of all hope to haue anie further ſuccour out of Fraunce, hee reſolued to followe the counſell of ſundrie Cardinalles, which verie earneſtly ſolicited him to make a peace with the Spaniarde. Who in the meane time determined to plant agayne the ſiege before Rome: not that hee was in anie hope to take it, but onely to inforce the Pope to a peace, which hee knew was greatly deſired by the Catholike king. But the Duke of Guiſe vnderſtanding this deſſeine, and the effects thereof, fayled not to approach vnto Tiuoli, a place ſcituated vppon the Teueron, to front the enemie, and to inforce him to leauie his ſiege. The which was the cauſe that by all the meanes they poſsiblie coulde, they haſtned the treatie of the peace ſought by the Venetians, and the Duke of Florence. The Pope ſending on the eight of September in his name, the Cardinalles *Carlo Caraffe*, *Saint Fior*, and *Vitolloce*, with ſome Romane Lordes towardes the Duke of Alua, who as then laie at Canie, a place ſcituate in the Romane Countrie, neere to Pilaſtrine, to conferre of the whole.

The Pope retaineth the d. of Guiſe

Peace negotiated, and by whom.

Betweene whome it was concluded and agreed, that the Duke of Alua and the Cardinall *Caraffe* woulde reſolue thereof together at Beneſſan, which is not farre from them: hauing each of them ample power and commiſsion from theyr maſter, to determine and conclude of all thinges, according as the Popes Letters carryed for the Cardinall *Caraffe*, dated the eighth daie of September, 1557. at Rome;

and

and king *Phillips*, for *Don Ferdinande Aluarez de Toledo*, Duke of Alua, dated the fiue and twenteeth of Iuly. In ſumme, the peace was concluded betweene the Pope and the Spaniard, and ſuch were the Articles: That the Duke of Alua dooing all kinde of obeyſances due, and ſubmiſsions in the name of the king of Spaine his maſter, ſhould beſeech pardon of the Popes holyneſſe: That hee ſhoulde receiue him as his good and obedient ſonne, participating vnto him ſuch graces as were common to other: That king *Phillip* ſhoulde doo the lyke, by an Embaſsadour expreſly ſent from him to Rome: That the Pope as a mercifull and debonarie Father, ſhoulde receiue the Catholique king as his ſonne, and giue vnto him all ſuch graces as hee was wont to doo, and accorde to other Chriſtian kings: That his holyneſſe ſhoulde renounce the league with the French king, and declare himſelfe a father to the one and the other of both the kinges, wythout anie one more than the other: That the Catholique King ſhoulde render vp all the townes, places, caſtles, and fortreſſes, beeing of the domaine of the Church, which had bene taken ſince the ouerture of this warre. Hee ſhoulde make bee builded agayne and repayred, all ſuch as had beene ruined and diſmembred by the Spaniardes: That all the artillerie taken on the one ſide or the other, in what ſorte ſo euer, ſhoulde bee reſtored againe into the handes of his auncient poſſeſſour: That they ſhoulde forget all ſuch executions as had ben done by iuſtice during this warre, were it by death or banniſhment: and all confiſcations of what perſons whatſoeuer, wythout anie mannes reſearching after into them. As alſo all ſuch as thorough this diſſention were driuen out of theyr landes, goods, and dignities, ſhoulde bee reſtored into theyr good renowme, goods, honours, ſtates, and dignities, right actions, and Seignouries. Prouided that they had loſt theſe thinges by meanes of this warre, to the ende this peace might not bee auaileable to *Marke Anthonie Colone*, nor to *Aſcaigne de la Corne*, but that they ſhoulde remayne outlawed at the will and diſcretion of the holy Father. That the Dutchie of Palliane ſhould bee put in ſuch eſtate as it was then, by the conſent and good liking of both partyes, into the hands of *Iean Barnardin Carbon*, which was the ſequeſtrer, who ſhould ſweare to the Pope and the Catholique King, to keepe faith to both parties, and obſerue the articles and agreements made and accorded betweene the Duke of Alua and the Cardinall *Caraffe*. Which *Carbon* was to haue the keeping of the Towne of Palliane, hauing vnder him eight hundred ſouldyers, payed by the Pope and the Catholique king.

Articles of peace between the Pope and the Spaniard.

Theſe Articles were ſworne to in the name of the ſayde Princes, the Pope, and king *Phillip*, by the Cardinall *Caraffe* and the Duke of Alua, according to the Commiſsion and faculties giuen vnto them, ſwearing by the ſoules of theyr Princes, to obſerue all the whole without fraude, cauelling, or anie exception whatſoeuer: adding a truce for a certayne time, contayning paſport and ſafeconduct to the Duke of Guiſe, and to all the Captaines and ſouldyers of the king of France, to departe out of Italie, and the Countries appertayning vnto king *Phillip*, as well by ſea as by land. Afterwardes they ſigned and ſealed the whole in the preſence of the Cardinals of S. *Flaur*, and *Vitelle*, who lykewiſe ſigned the preſent Treatiſe. And forſomuch as it was not ſet downe therein to whome *Palian* ſhoulde appertaine, ſince that the ſequeſtrer kept it in the name of both the princes contracting, there were ſecrete articles agreed vpon betweene the Cardinal *Caraffe* and the Duke of Alua. In which it was contained, how that it ſhould remaine at the will and diſcretion of the catholike king, either to ruine or leaue that place in her entire, without being lawful for him to repair

or fortifie it, vntill the ſayd Lord King had giuen ſome place of like value and reuenew to the Popes ſonne for recompence. And anie differente falling out vppon that exchange, the Senate of Venice ſhoulde giue iudgement thereof, wythout either the one or the other parties refuſing to obey what ſhuld be ordayned by that Seignorie. And the recompence beeing once made by king *Phillip*, hee might then beſtowe the place of Palian vppon whom it liked him beſt, ſauing anie ſuch as were an enemie to the Church of Rome. And that he which ſhould haue Palian in ſequeſtration, ſhould bee bound to depart ſo ſoone as the place were diſmembred. Such was the iſſue of the affayres of Italie, and of the armie which the King ſent for the Popes ſuccour, the which was followed with a ſtrange ouerflowing inundation of Tiber, as I will cauſe you to ſee elſewhere.

Now that each partie had of a long time turned his deſſeignes to the warre, couered notwithſtanding by the concluſion of this truce, yet had the Spaniſh Councell much better and from longer hande prouided for the preparatiues and inconueniences thereof. For *Phillip* put as ſoone an armie agaynſt that of Italie (by which he drew out of the realme, the flower of the nobilitie, and the moſt renowmed Captaines and ſouldiers which were there) the moſt accompliſhed and beſt furniſhed with all neceſſaries of anie that had beene ſeene of long time. To the end hee would not faile to ſet forward his firſt fortune, which he meant to proue in the view of all the potentates of Europe, eſpecially of the French, in whome hee meant to ingraue by the beginning of his enterpriſes ſuch a dread of his forces & means, as that for euer after they ſhould bee more ſtayed, and leſſe ſtirring againſt him, than they had beene againſt anie of his anceſtors. *Henrie* on the contrarie (as the French is neuer aduiſed but vpon the blow) prouiding onelye for his armie which marched to affranchiſe the Pope from his enemies, (to whom ſuccours was almoſt as ſoone promiſed as demanded) hauing vnderſtood but too late, through want of intelligence the galliard preparatiues of *Phillip*, found himſelfe no leſſe aſtonied to ſee he was taken at a liſte, than perplexed through the difficultie, whereof reporte was made vnto him, of finding finances to leuie, conduct, furniſh, and imploy ſo groſſe an armie withall. Which to hinder the enterie and ſacke of his realme to ſo puiſſant a neighbour and ancient enemie, was a matter neceſſarie for the richeſt and pooreſt Prince of Chriſtendome, (thorough the abundance, and yet euill husbanding of his meanes) in making readie the preparatiues, whereof hee knew a great deale better the difficulties which preſented themſelues to the executions of his haughtie deſſeignes, by the complaintes which all the eſtates of his Realme made to bee reſounded on all partes, as ſoone as the bruite of another warre refreſhed theyr memorie wyth remembrance of ſo many ſorrowes paſſed.

The deſeines & old preparations of king Phillip.

Deſiignes and preparations of king Henrie.

Two houſes at this time poſſeſſed king *Henrie* more than anie other of his realme, that of Guiſe and Monmorencie, both of them recommended for the antiquitie, valour, and renowme of their races, vertuouſly imployed to the profite and honour of the crowne of France. But that being the greater, better allied, richer, and of more renowme throughout all Chriſtendome, woulde not acknowledge the Monmorencian equall to it ſelfe, ſauing in the fauor of the Prince, whoſe grace towards the Conſtable mounted ſo farre, as that hee would conceale nothing from him, doo all things by his aduiſe, and vouchſafe him ſometimes to bee his bedfellow, the honour and reſpect beeing kept ſtill ſuch as hee ought. So as beeing ſet in authoritie, thorough the credite and exceeding vertue, as well of his foure ſonnes, as of his three nephewes of Chaſtillon, and other his kinſmen, who bare honorable offices, all of them within the

realme, hee seemed to haue no need of desiring the increase of ought, but only a continuance of his greatnesse, prouided that no disaster did crosse the course of so happie a pursuit. Those of Guise no lesse supported by the merite of their owne valour, and put in authoritie thorough the ancient renowme of so many princes, issued out of the house of Lorraine, sought to make themselues greatest in the kings fauour, by a farre greater number of signall seruices with *Charles* and *Frances* of Guise, might doo to the flower de Luce. So as, as well to continue their owne dutie, as their auncestours and fathers, they had vndertaken the voyage of Italie, to the end to deliuer Pope *Iulie* out of the Spaniardes handes: and if promise should bee kept with them, to imploy themselues to the conquest of the kingdome of Naples, hoping by that meanes much more to extoll the kings power & credit among forrain nations. *Charles* and *De Guise* Cardinals remaining onely behinde in Court to entertaine the king to the conduct of such a dessein. Which lykewise was greatly fauoured by *Diane de Poitiers*, sole heire to *S. Valier*, Duke of Valentinois, who to imploie thereto that part of hir credit, which her beautie, comely carriage, and quicknesse of spirite (graces hatefull inough to the vertuous *Katherine de Medices* Queene of France) had gained vnto her of the king, had giuen one of her daughters in marriage to *De Guise* Earle of *Aumaule*, who accompanyed the Duke his brother into Italie. Now as all greatnesse standeth accompanied with the passions of the Court, vpon the preparatiues which king *Phillip* made dayly, to be reuenged of the losses aboue sayd, men began to shew vnto the king the damage and dishonour, which thorough the absence of his forces, the breach of truce so solemnly sworne would bring vnto him: how the Duke of Guise had spent one hundred and three score thousand crownes a moneth, without hauing done ought else than seene *Ciuitelle*, a frontire towne of Naples the small, or rather no aduantage at all, which hee had receiued by the breach thereof. How that the king of Spaine beeing well setled in his quarters within Italie, had assembled together such forces, as it was an easie matter for him to aduance the ruine of France, if hee should enter in against so few people as were to present themselues vnto him, in the ranke of whome, notwithstanding the Constable humblie besought his maiestie to place him, that hee might imploie therein, together with his owne meanes, the lyfe of himselfe, his kinsmen, friends, and such other as would follow him in such an enterprise, as much perforced and vncommodious as it was. The king greatly bewailed such an accident: but as hee was one of the best princes and most easie to bee managed, as France euer sawe, hee dyd not greatly torment himselfe, thorough the hope which the Cardinall of Lorraine and the Dutches of Valentinois had giuen vnto him. How the whole matter could not but receiue an happie issue, and how that the Constable, chiefe of armes, might assemble men enough to make head to the Spaniard, if it would please his maiestie but to sende him towardes the frontires, there to make readie the campe. The which hee was commanded to doo. So as hee departed from Compeigne, (where the king as then laie gouerned by those of Guise) with speed inough to go to Nostre dame de Liesse, there to receiue his troupes together, which should bee sent vnto him out of all parties. In the meane time they studyed vpon all meanes (the kings treasure beeing alreadie drawen drie) how to procure monie for the entertaining of such an armie, in which appeared great difficulties, accompanyed with grieuous complaintes in many places. In summe, besides the great and ordinary impostes which were leuied vpon the people, new taxes and particular loanes were put vpon them, with surchaiges so excessiue, as they grew intollerable vpon the third estate, which the continuance of the warres had alreadie eaten almost to the bare bones. The ministers and beneficed men of the

Church

Church, albeit they alleadged how that they were exempt, & priuiledged from ſuch charges, were neuer a whit ſpared, but ſeazed according to their tenths, to the vtmoſt value of the reuenue of theyr Benefices. The Nobilitie but euen freſhly returned frō the warres paſſed, with a hope of a good repoſe, to helpe vp themſelues againe, ſettle order in their houſes, and eſtabliſh theyr reuenues to come, was agayne called, as wel to appeare in the Rirebandes, as to inroll themſelues in the kinges ordinances, who diſpatched commiſsions to leauie new companies, and to fyll vp the olde. The *Rin-graue* bringing vnto him one thouſand Piſtolliers, and eight hundred Lanſknets, came to ioyne with his forces. In the meane ſpace to preuent the firſt deſseines of his enemie, to fauour the aduancement of the fortifications vpon the frontiers, and whileſt that the armie was making readie, at the end of Ianuarie, 1557. the reſt of the men at armes of France, were ſent as the moſt ready force which the king had, to be diuided among the moſt dangerous frontires, eſpecially in Campagne. For that the imperials ordinaryly made theyr deſcent moſt that waies, and to fauor the fortification of Rocroy, which ſerued as a counterfort and ſupport to Mariembourg and Maubert Fontaine. Fortifying in lyke ſorte, and munitioning the reſt of the places vppon the frontire, they repayred vp agayne the platforme and pan of the wall behinde the caſtle of Mezieres, which was much fallen downe. The ſpring notwithſtanding and moſt part of the Summer paſſed ouer, without anie matter worthie of memorie, ſauing the attempt of certaine of the garriſons vpon Roc Roy, which I wil ſhew vnto you. After hauing repreſented the place to the naturall. It is a barren ſoile more than two leagues round about it, where you can ſee nothing but high woods, ſtanding water, and marriſhes, eſpecially in the waſt & vnmanured places groweth nothing but briers, thorns, broome, and heath, for that the molde thereof is clay: the plains & bottomes all mooriſh where the fort ſtandeth. The reſt of the places are hard and ſharpe rocks, without anie moiſture or bearing of fruit, ſauing catmint and moſſe, which maketh it farre vnfit for the incamping of an armie, by meanes of the ſeate and barrennes of the place. The fort hath fiue frontes, which they tearme in forme of *Pantagone*, couered and defended with four great bulwarkes, garniſhed with their flankers, Cazamates, & platformes: then the old fort which ſerueth for the fift, each carrying his particular name, ſo great and ſpacious, that euerie one may lodge two thouſand ſouldiers, and a greate deale of artillery. A matter verie commodious for the retrenches and rampires againſt the enemie.

Roc Roy and his repreſentation.

Moreouer, the defences there are ſo ſurely couered, and without anie daunger of batterie, that it is verie vneaſie to take them awaie: ioynt that the heeles and ſhoulders thereof are ſo large and thicke, that they couer a great part of the Courtines. And for the better enduring of the rampire, the turfe and the earth is ſo claie and ſlammie, as if it ſoake in neuer ſo little water, it ſtiffneth and hardneth inough of it ſelfe. Therefore the fourth of Aprill the imperiall garriſons beeing aſſembled together, marched ſo ſecretly to breake downe the banke, which as yet was reared but two foot high, as thinking that the moſt part of the ſouldiers would ſallie out vpon their curriors, with reſolution to cut off theyr waie, and ſo hew them in peeces. Then (together with ſuch as ſtied to enter peſle meſle within the forte) they ſawe the ſouldiers euen and anone ſallying out file a file to the skirmiſh, againſt the firſt, as the indiſcreet heat of the French doth alwayes carrie. But the whole companie comming vpon them to cut off their retreate, the reſt which were within the forte in armes, to make the view and deale the laſt, iſſued forth ſo readily, and with ſuch reſolute charges, as the other were conſtrained to drawe backe and retyre themſelues in the end, to defend themſelues from the

number

number of Cannon ſhot which played vpon them without ceaſing.

Paſsing ouer thus ſome time in theſe light attempts, the ſeuenth of Iune the Queen of England ſent an Heralde of armes to proclaime warre vnto the king, who, the king hauing made it bee declared vnto him by the Conſtable, how graciouſlye hee vſed him, in reſpect of the puniſhment which hee deſerued, in that he had paſſed thorough his realme without ſafe conduct, was curteouſly ſent backe with preſents, and his anſwere: which was, how hee accepted of the defiance, in hope to make her know, that wythout anie occaſion at all ſhee had offered this vnto him, conſidering the good offices which had paſſed as well from himſelfe as his aunceſtours towardes her and her nation.

Likewiſe it was ſufficiently inough apparant, how that ſhee had beene as it were importuned heereunto by her husband, in reſpect of the diuiſions and partialities of that Realme, as well betweene the Engliſh and the Spaniardes, as among the Engliſh themſelues. The moſt parte imagining howe that theyr new king, diminiſhing theyr forces and meanes by ſuch warres, would ſeeke the more eaſily to make himſelfe maſter of theyr fortreſſes, and vſurpe the ſuperintendance, which he ſo much longed after, to manage all things at his owne will and pleaſure. You ſhall elſe-where ſee what inſued heereupon. In Iuly the Prince of Piemont, *Almora* Earle of Eguemond, the Duke of Aſcot, and others, prepared an armie at Giuers, curious to performe the matter better than they dyd at the firſt attempt. Which they had aſſembled together for to haue ſurpriſed Rocroy, at the verie firſt puſh. But their vant curriers were ſo luſtily ſet vpon by thoſe which iſſued out to the skirmiſh, as the groſſe comming to aſsiſt and ſupport them after a long meley of hot buckling together, and infinite Cannon ſhot which rained among them, was conſtrayned in the end to leaue a great number of theyr dead behinde in the field, whileſt they turned vppon the frontire of Picardie, as if they had meant to haue attempted vpon Guiſe, before which the whole imperiall armie laie of thirtie fiue thouſand men, and twelue thouſande horſe, tarrying for eight thouſand Engliſhmen: who landing at Calis and in the Countie Doye, was to ioyne wyth them at Saint Quentines. King *Henrie* his armie aſſembled it ſelfe at the ſame time at Atygnie. But as theyr foreſight was not ſo great as the Spaniſh, no more was theyr number, nor theyr meanes found to be alike. There might be about eighteene thouſand fantaſsins of Almanes and French, fiue or ſixe thouſand horſe, of light men at armes, as well French as Almaine, coaſting alwaies notwithſtanding the imperials within foure or fiue leagues following, the Countrie of Tieraſche, reſolued to cloſe themſelues within Pierre Ponte, a place very commodious to ouerrun the whol frontire, and there to diſtribute ſuccours among the garriſons, with ſuretie of thoſe troupes which ſhould keepe the field.

K. Phillips armie.

K. Henries armie.

The aduantage which grew vnto the imperials thorough their long foreſight, hauing brought foorth vnto them ſo ſtrong an armie, and the variable and diligent diſmarch of theyr troupes, cauſed that the French beeing inſolent, and contemning the enemyes forces, (againſt whome ordinarily they eſteemed it inough to prepare themſelues vpon the blow and intelligence which preſented it ſelfe) did in no ſorte prouide to withſtand the enterpriſe of *Phillip*, and beeing at the verie pinch vncertayne of his intent, they were not able to iudge by the deportments of his armie to what place he meant, whereby they might furniſh it as were neceſſarie. So as firſt the Kinges councell, and afterwardes the Conſtables, beeing diuided into two partes, ſome thought that the Prince of Piemont would vndertake nought elſe, and turned to no other end than to make an honorable retreate. For that not hauing bene able to aſſemble his armie

The aduauntages which the Spaniards & Flemings had ouer the French.

mie together ſo ſoone as he imagined, through the diſtance of ſo many diuers countries, as he was to drawe his men out of, and other diſcommodities, the opportunitie was eſcaped him, ſar attempting any matter of great importaunce. Eſpecially for that he was repulſed from the Frontier of Champaigne, whither they ſayde his principall entente was. And albeit that other were of a contrarie opinion, aſſuring howe there was a certaine complotte, an aſſured Rende-vous, and a full foreſight determined, whither he meant to turne his Forces, as vnto a matter which he helde alreadie halfe conquered, beeing well aduertiſed of ſuch wante, as there mought be, ſo farre, as the Admirall did aſſure, (by intelligence receyued) the Conestable his Vnckle, how that the Prince meant to haue a blow at Picardie, as a place very euill prouided. Ioint that the Spaniſhe bandes which were within newe Hedin, (the beſt Troupes which they had) were not as yet diſlodged: the Frenche, (as mens ſenſes being diſperſed doe leſſe apprehende one of thoſe things which they doe beholde, then if they were all fixed vpon that alone) being curious to furniſhe the whole, prouided not ſufficiently either for the armie, or any other of thoſe places, whereby they mought ſtay the enemie, who ſtill entertayned them with his long delayes, and irreſolutions, thorough the vncertainetie of his diſſein, vntill that the Prince, hauing made a ſhowe, as though he woulde firſt encampe before Guiſe, then at Mariembourg, had encloſed

S. Quentin enuironed rounde before that the Frenche once thought thereof and ſelfe prouided for it.

rounde S. Quentins with his light Cauallerie. And at the ſame inſtant cauſing his whole armie to marche with extreame dilligence, hee founde himſelfe encamped rounde about it, before that euer he coulde be thought to haue bene halfe way. The ſuddaineſſe whereof made the whole Campe to doubte leaſt the place woulde be taken by ſurpriſe, as well for wante of men, as other prouiſions and fortifications within the Towne, which had but the Captaine *Brueil* for gouernour, and *Telligny*, Lieutenaunt to the Daulphin, of a Companie of one hundred men at armes: the better parte of whome were therein Garriſon, at which the Inhabitauntes grewe ſo greatly diſcontented, conſidering as they alleadged, that their priuiledges did exempte thē from them, as whatſoeuer enſued thereupon, was rather attributed to their owne faulte then to any others. The Admirall, being commaunded by the Conestable, to get into the Towne with as many men as hee ſhoulde be able, vnder a hope of being ſuccoured by him: albeit that *Iarnac* and *Luſarche* offered themſelues to goe thither,

Gaſpard Coligny Admirall and Gouernour of Piccardie getteth into S. Quentin.

and keepe him from aduenturing ſo great a danger, perſwading him to employ himſelfe ſomewhere elſe, where he ſhoulde be able to doe the King more ſignall ſeruice, then to caſt away himſelfe there within, did ſo much notwithſtanding, as with foure hundred & fiftie men, as well horſe as foote, he entred in. Afterwardes hauing made the Rounde about the walles, encouraged the Inhabitauntes: whome he aſſembled together in the common Hall, viſited the whole Towne thorough, ouerlooked the prouiſions and munitions of warre, and giuen the quarters vnto Companies, he prouided for all the reſt the beſt which he was able. Now for that *Iulian Romero*, and *Carondelet* ſpaniſh Captaines had alreadie gayned the bulwarke of Fauxbourg d'Iſle, where they had ſettled their Enſeignes, notwithſtanding any reſiſtaunce which could be made. Iointe that it was without parapette, and the earth without as high as within, the Admirall yſſued out to regayne it, and to burne the houſes about. But the beſieged were ſo euill receyued, and hottely purſued, as many returned hurte, counſelling the Admirall to abandon that Fauxbourg, conſidering the ſmall number of men which he had, and the two paſſages to the Flankers thereof, by which the enemie mought cutte betweene the Fauxbourg and the Towne, and ſo hinder the retreat of ſuch as ſhoulde defende it. But he would needes ſtill holde it vntill a greater occaſion

were

were offred, to ſet a good countenance vpon it. Hereupon beeing willing to viewe the encamping of his enemies, he commanded *Teligny*, to cauſe 50. horſe of his Cõpanie to ſallie out vnder the conducte of ſome aſſured man at armes, onely to viewe, enioyning them by no meanes to fight, and eſpecially, that he ſhoulde not goe himſelfe: But ſeeing the Courriers engaged, and in diſorder, he was no ſooner aduanced without armour, and vpon a bad courtall to cauſe them to retire, but he was wrapped in, thrown downe to the grounde, wounded to death, ſtripte naked, and afterwarde carryed away by a ſouldier, who hazzarded his life, for the rewarde, which the Admirall had promiſed vnto him. This done, perceyuing the preparratiues of the enemie to batter the Fauxbourg d'Iſle, hauing carryed away whatſoeuer was portable, and prouided for the burning of the houſes vpon the watchworde giuen, hee quitted it, and cauſed the whole to be burned. Howe as the Inhabitantes had hidde their prouiſions, notwithſtanding any commaundement or diligence vſed to forbid them, (among whome the Maior aloane and the *Sire de Gibercourte*, were noted to doe their duetie) ſo their faulte in concealing the powder, which had lyen a long time hidde in the Towres of the gate of the Fauxbourg d'Iſle, was a cauſe of great inconuenience. For to the ende they mought carrie it away, as ſoone as it was diſcouered, the cakes being all rotten and mouldering into pieces, they were fayne to put it into blankettes, where the fire tooke ſo at vnawares, with ſuch violence, of this diueliſhe mixtion, as it made a breache of more then fiue and thirtie paces, beſides the loſſe of ſixe and thirtie ſeruiceable men, which wente all into ſmoake. Whereupon the enemie had a fayre occaſion preſented to vndertake ſome thing to his aduantage, if the fire of the houſes of the Fauxbourg which burned, had not taken away the ſight of this breache from the Spanyardes, who mought eaſily haue entered in at the beginning, for that euery man was retired to feede, and other neceſſaries. And albeit that the Conſtable greatly payned himſelfe, to get ſuccour into the Towne, according to the aduiſe, which he had receyued from the Admirall, who to this ende had ſente foorth *Vaupergue*, and from the toppe of a ſteeple had ſhewed him by what wayes they were to take their courſe, yet *Dandelot* his brother was not able to bring any in, for that certayne Engliſhemen priſoners among the Spanyardes, had aduertiſed them of this enterpriſe. An occaſion that hauing entrenched and furniſhed the high way to Han, by which they were to paſſe with harquebuſiers, (for ſo much as that quarter being allotted to ſuch Engliſhmen as were ioyned vnto King *Philips* Armie, was leſſe peopled with men of warre) the thirde parte was there ſlayne, and the reſt enforced to ſaue themſelues, albeit they had a nombet of men at armes and light horſe to aſſiſte them with howe alarmes, whileſt that they ſhoulde enter in: In the meane ſpace to viewe the Countrie, and to hinder the enemie from enlarging himſelfe, attempting vpon him as occaſions were proffered. But *Vaupergue*, had not ſufficiently marked the places which were ſhewed vnto him for his entraunce in, but gaue ſtraight vpon a Corps de guarde of Fantaſſins, in ſteade of paſſing betweene it, and one other of Cauallerie. Where he ſhould haue founde nothing but Sentinels, and haue bene able to gayne a little hill, all alongeſt the Vines, by which the Captaine *S. Andre* had entered in by fayre day light. An occaſion that the Admirall had nowe ynough to doe, to encourage the beſieged, aſſuring them that the Conſtable woulde not ſuffer them to be loſt within, and that together with himſelfe, ſo many Gentlemen would not tarrie there if they ſuppoſed they ſhould be but loſte. It was about this time, that nine thouſande Engliſhmen, & 1500. horſe, arriued at the campe vnder the charge of the Earle of Penbrooke, *Clinton*, and *Gray*, lodged as I before tolde

Howe a ſallie ought to be made vpon the enemie.

Gunpowder.

Meanes to ſende ſuccours to the beſieged, and howe to be better aſſured.

Engliſhmen ſente to K. Philips Armie.

told you. In the meane time the Admirall cauſed 700. idle monthes to be put out, to eaſe the towne ſo much in fauour of the voluntary men. The Prince euen as ſoone made his trenches, and aproches againſt the porte of *Romicourt*, vnder the fauour of the hedges and trees, which had not beene before cutte vp by the beſeeged. Whereof the Admirall aduertiſed the Conſtable, and of the mariſh, by which way onely they were then able to ſuccour them: promiſing to rampire and fill vp certaine little deepe channels, which hindered their paſſage. The which he did by the Captaine *S. Romain*: and to croſſe the Riuer which runneth through and ouerfloweth this mariſh: they cauſed fowre boates to be brought, vpon which, being chained together, and reaching from the one ſhoare to the other, they might well haue paſſed, if they had beene able to lande on the banke, whileſt that a hotte alarum were giuen to the whole campe. Vpon which the Conſtable being reſolued, hee departed the 8. of *Auguſt* from *La Fere*, with two thouſand horſe, fower thouſande Fantaſſins, as well Almaines as French, trayning fower field peeces alongeſt. Being ariued ouer againſt the village called *Le grand Eſigny:* he made a ſtand, and taking the D. of *Neuers*, the Prince of *Conde*, and ſome others, he aproched as neere as he was able to *S. Quentin*, as farre as the deſcent of the mariſh without diſcouering any enemy. Afterwardes hee ſent *Du Fumett* to viewe neerer, and make report of the diſtance of the enemy from the towne, and of the mariſh from them, together with the largenes of the riuer. The which he did, with two other more, who agreed ſomewhat with his report: whereupon on *S. Laurence* day in the morning the tenth of the moneth, there were ſet in battaile, at the place of execution neere *La Fere* ſixteene French enſignes, and two and twentie Almaine with fifteene peeces of artillarie, whither the whole cauallerie came to ioyne with them. Then they aduanced as farre as *S. Quentines* by nine of the clock right to the fauxbourge *de Liſle* on the ſide of fourteene Spaniſh Enſignes, where the whole was ſet in order of battaile. On the ſide beyond the water, and the mariſh, was the Prince of *Piemont* & his army, far ſtretched forth, hauing for ſentinell, within a mile on this ſide, two Spaniſh Enſignes, which were ſodenly turned downe and conſtrained to retire themſelues beyonde the cauſey. At the ſame inſtant the french artillery thundered ſo furiouſly vpon the Campe, & eſpecially into the Princes Tent, as he had no leaſure to put on his armour, to retyre himſelfe into the next quarter of the Count of *Aiguemont:* to whom euery man retired in a ſtrange diſorder. Now for that they doubted a certaine dangerous paſſage, diſtant about one league from *Fauxbourg d' iſle*, (where the french Cauallery lay) they ſent thither a cornet of *the Renigraues* piſtoliers, to the end to haue newes ſooner by them, then footmen, which were rather like to be loſt then ſuccoured, as alſo that they were the more eaſily able to retire. And for a greater ſtrength the D. of *Neuers* went thither with three companies of men at armes. Vpon this the Conſtable vſed all meanes to make his men to enter in: but the boates not being able to come to the other ſhore, through the aboundance of the ſouldiers, which entred in by ſuch heapes, and diſorderlie, were ſo ouerladen, as by reaſon of the durte and ouſe in which they ſtooke, it was vnpoſſible for any great number of men to paſſe ouer: beſides at the going out of the boates, the preſſe of the ſouldiers was ſuch as they were not able to follow the waies and pathes ſhewed vnto them. An occaſion that they ſcattered, and fell into the deepe ditches of the mariſh, whence they were not able to get out, but remained there all mirie, and the moſt part drowned miſerablie.

The Prince of Piemont refuſeth to charge, to hinder

The Prince in the meane ſpace hauing taken reſolution to charge vpon ſo few men before the appointed ſuccours were al entred in, the artillarie ceaſing to annoy them, any

any further, caused the Compte of Aiguemont to passe ouer the passage with two thousande horse, which the Frenche durste not encounter withall, and then two other Companies followed after with Battailions of foote, during whose passages, some gaue counsell to the Conestable to charge vpon them which were alreadie passed ouer. But their aduice preuailed, who rather counselled a retreate, then to aduaunce further with so fewe men, considering the furious dismarche of their enemies: Ioynte that hee was not come thither to hazzarde the Forces of Fraunce, excepte that hee were greatly constrayned thereunto. And further howe hee had succoured and furnished Saint Quintin with all neecessaries, as hee thought in spight of the enemie. Thus the Duke of Neuers retyred to *Lowys* de Bourbon Prince of Conde, who had the charge of certayne light Cauallerie, which the Conestable had caused to tarrie at a Windemille. With whome being ioyned, and keeping the lefte winge, they came safe and sounde vnto the Conestable, who alwayes gayned grounde of the retreate, whilest that his enemies encreasing, aduaunced forwardes, and had alreadie gotten aduauntage of him, in eighte great battailions of Cauallerie and Reistres. Yea, they viewed him so neere, as the Conestable imagining that hee had well enough prouided for the place, and that by the temporising of his enemies, they woulde not dare to come backe vpon him, made no other accounte, then softely to retyre. The which the enemie attributing in the beginning to an assured resolution of Combatte, shewed himselfe vncertayne of the charge, vntill that perceyuing the Financiers, marchauntes and other, (following the Warres for their pleasure, or profite) to retyre apace, to saue themselues, with their money and marchandises, from an enemie soneere vnto them, and afterwardes the seruauntes, whome they caused to bate to retyre, all which chaunging their pace to a galloppe, astonyed at the retreat of these marchauntes, retyred themselues with great cryes, witnesses of the feare which had alreadie possessed them, it made the Compte of Aiguemont to thinke, who suddaynely caused the Prince to be aduertised thereof, that the Frenche Armie quaked, and that it was nowe time to trye their fortune, and to charge vpon such an aduauntage. In the ende, this Flemmisher Compte, hauing after he had receyued commaundement from the Prince, conferred a while with the Chiefe men which accompanyed him, leauing the Compte of Saint Chealsbourg, with his Regiment of Reistres to keepe the passage, charged thorough a Flancke with two thousande horse, at the same time as the Earles *Henry* and *Ernest* of Brunswich, eache followed with one thousande Reistres, backed and encouraged by the Compte of Horne, with a thousande men at armes of the ordinances of the Countrie, sette all as it were with one trotte vpon the other Flancke, at the very same instaunte, as the Earles of Maunsfielde, Vuilen, Dostrat, and of Geldres with other three thousande horse, threwe vnder foote the middest with such a furie, as hauing ouerthrowne the first Ranckes, and those which seconded them, all the surplus was put to flight.

the rest from entring in, or to breake the Frenche Armie.

The occasion of the charge giuing.

Iohn of Burbon Duke of Anguien, being beaten downe, and afterwardes remounted, was slayne at the seconde Charge, and in the ende being brought vnto the Prince, hee caused him to bee carryed with all honour to bee buried at La Fere.

The defeate and route of the Frenche at S. Quentins.

Frauncis de la Tour, Vicompte of Turaine, *S. Gelais*, and more then sixe hundred Gentlemen dyed there, with foure thousand as well French as Almaine Fantassins, and well neere 300. men of marke taken prisoners. The D. of Neuers was retired to

 La Fere,

La Fere, *Eſpeuilles*, Enſeigne to his men at armes, gaue his colours to *Chazeilles* to ſaue it. And his Guidon *S. Simon* beeing ouerthrowne, had beene taken priſoner, if *D'Auerly* had not ſlayne him which carryed him. The Coneſtable ſore wounded in the haunche, was carried away priſoner, and ſo was the Duke of Montpenſier. As alſo the Mareſchall *S. Andre*, *Ludouic* Prince of Mantoue, the Reingraue, *Roche-ſoucat*, *S. Heron*, *Bordillon*, *Moury*, *Montſales*, and many other of name. As ſoone as the Fanterie perceiued this diſorder, it ſet it ſelfe in ſquare battailions, but being ouerthrown, reſiſted no whit at all. So as many lying bleeding, and dead vpon the grounde, the reſt were ledde away priſoners by troupes like muttons. Who at the comming of King *Philip* were preſented vnto him, with their weapons and coulours, in tryumph of ſo great and ſignall a Victorie, happened betweene Eſſigny and Rizerolles. Being purſued by the ſpace of foure howres, vntill euening, fro the Blanc-foſſe where the ſlaughter beganne, vnto the gallowes diſtaunt one league from La Fere, where two pieces of Artillerie onely were recouered: the which *Bordillon* went afterwardes to feteche, to carrie them to La Fere, where the Duke of Neuers, Chiefe of the reſt, the Prince of Conde, the Compte of Sancerre, *Bordillon* and other ſaued them ſelues. And ſhortly after ſuch as were eſcaped from the Combatte, and out of priſon, retired themſelues in farre greater nomber then was hoped for. But ſtripped of all they had.

Prenchmē dead, priſoners and eſcaped from the battayle of S. Quentins.

This done, the Duke of Neuers ſente rounde aboute, to make it knowne vnto the diſperſed ſorte, howe that the Rende-vous of the Armie was appointed at Laon, Where he aſſured them that they ſhoulde receyue their paye, which they had not ſeene of many monethes together. This done, hauing furniſhed the Frontires with men and munitions the beſt which he was able, he aduertiſed the King of the eſtate wherein his affayres ſtoode, and beſought the Prince of Piemont, to ſende vnto him the nomber rolle of ſuch priſoners of marke as were taken. Then together with the Prince of Conde he retired within Laon, with ſixe hundred horſe the reſidue of all the Troupes. He lefte *Bordillon* at La Fere, and the Compte of Sancerre at Guiſe. Afterwardes the King ſente *De Pot* to Han, & *De Lorges* to Noyon, there to aſſemble together the Gentlemen of his houſe, and the Archers of his guards, and to prouide for thoſe quarters, according as neede ſhoulde require.

The Duke of Neuers Chiefe of ſuch as eſcaped, aſſembleth the reſt of the battaile. And howe he prouided for the whole.

Hereupon the King retired himſelfe from Compienne to Paris, thereby to aſſure the Inhabitauntes, who alreadie quaked, ſeeking to retyre themſelues, with the more pretious parte of their goodes, and moueables, into the furtheſt parts of the Realme. To whome firſt he ſent the Queene, who was quickely at the Guilde hall, where ſhe demaunded, and obtayned a graunt of three hundred thouſande livers, after an Oration made by the Cardinall *Bertrande*, Archbiſhoppe of Sens, Lorde Keeper. Who in ſumme declared vnto them.

Paris feareth the comming of K. Philip no leſſe then afore time his fathers Charles the Emperour.

HOwe that the Lorde God, hauing choſen and appointed him for their King, by like meanes had created and lefte vnto him, a hearte and affection to rule them, preſerue and defende them, euen to the aduenturing of his owne life: Therefore that they ſhoulde aſſure themſelues, that hee woulde no more abandon them, then that he had this firme beliefe, howe the diuine Grace would neuer faile him, to which if it hath ſeemed good to ſende vnto him this miſfortune, it was an admonition, to acknowledge the Almightie, who diſtributeth all thinges according to his good pleaſure as well to great as ſmall. Nowe, albeit that he receiued it as a puniſhement & chaſtiſemēt for his offences, or it mought be his Peoples, yet the danger was not ſo great & inceuitable, but that meanes were lefte of remedie, conſidering the ſuccours, which they are to ſeeke of

The K. demaundeth ſuccour of the Pariſians.

the

the God of Victories. And that of themſelues they woulde be an ayde vnto themſelues, and eſpecially to him in this deſperate neceſſitie, Whereupon they had to conſider, that ſo long as the rentes of his reuennewe, were able to ſtreatche out towardes the maintenance of theſe warres, he had not importuned them, by ſurcharges of demaundes, and redoublementes of taskes, or other contributions: But that hee was alwayes willing, rather to ſell and morgage his owne Demayne, exchaunge and borrowe elſewhere, then to fleece or moleſte them. But ſince that nowe he was no longer able to ſatisfie them, thorough the affayres which daylye redoubled vpon him, as they mought ſee and perceiue with their owne eyes, therefore he beſought them that they would ſuccour him onely with money, and that for the reſt they woulde relye themſelues vpon him, who of his parte woulde neuer fayle them in will, and good affection, nor yet in force or power to ſuccour them, or in any thing elſe which mought appertaine to the authoritie or Eſtate of a King towardes his ſubiectes.

Brieflie the Pariſians reacknowledging the good zeale of their Prince, accorded willingly vnto him three hundred thouſande livers, as alſo the reſt of the capitall Cities of the Prouinces, contributed as their abilitie ſtretched. With the which he ſent into Zwizerlande, to leuie ſixe thouſande men, vnder the Colonell *Luc Reiſtre* of Baſle, and on the other ſide eight thouſande vnder *Claris de Haris*. Likewiſe he ſente the Colonell *Rechrod*, to make an other leuie of Almaine footemen. Albeit that the Countrie was much vnfurniſhed thorough the leuies of King *Phillip*, and of another which the Baron of Poleuille made there of twentie Enſignes, and certaine Reiſtres. Beſides this, the King ſente worde vnto the Duke of Guiſe, by *Scipion* his eſcuyer, howe he ſhoulde ſettle all things in Italie, to the moſt aduantage which he were able, and withdrawe his Forces hitherwards. In the meane time it was ordred that generall muſters ſhoulde be made of the Inhabitantes of Paris, ouer whome there commaunded *Charles de Bourbon*, Prince *De la Roche-Suryon* in Poitou. This done, the King being ſhortly after ariued from Compienne, generall proceſſions were made, whither likewiſe *Paul de Termes* was ſente for, for the reputation of his vertue, eſpecially in feates of Armes. Who being come, cauſed to be broken off, that vnprofitable deuice, of the long trenches, which they had begunne at Paris on the ſide of Mont-martre, the better to aſſure that paſſage. In the ende proclamation was made in the Kinges name, thorough out all the Countreyes, that all ſouldiers, Gentlemen, or other, which eyther had followed, or were able to carrie armes, ſhoulde retyre to Laon, towards the D. of Neuers, his Lieutenaunt generall, to the ende they mought be there employed for his ſeruice, and ſafetie of the Countrie. And that all ſuch as woulde followe the warres for their owne pleaſure, ſhoulde retire themſelues aboute his perſon, vnder payne of being declared Rebelles, puniſhed corporally as villaines, and diſgraded of all Nobilitie.

The meanes which the K. of Fraunce vſed for his better aſſurance after the battaile of S. Quentin.

Such an accident was ſoone enough able to chaunge the affayres of the Courte. Yea, to eſtabliſhe an other kinde of fourme altogether, in the managing of the Eſtate of Fraunce, ouer which the Coneſtable ſeemed to holde the aduantage. But his taking cauſed it to fall into the handes of the Cardinall of Lorraine, and Dutcheſſe of Valentinois, who kept it for the Duke of Guiſe, as ſoone as hee ſhoulde bee come to the Courte. During the attendance of whoſe Forces, the Duke of Neuers aſſembling together ſuch as were eſcaped from the battaile, and as many more as hee was able, gaue foorth a nomber of Commiſsions to Leuie in the Kinges name, newe Companies, and ſente *De iours* to fetche the Leagion of Champagne, whereof hee had beene chiefe Captayne, and drewe fiue Enſeignes out of the Garriſon

of Metz, and other olde bandes of the Garriſons neare hande, in whoſe ſteade hee ſent newe, not ceaſing to ſende forth men of all handes to viewe, learne newes, and vpon any good intelligence, to charge at their aduantage. In the meane ſpace the Prince of Conde ſuffered no more the enemie to repoſe himſelfe, then the light horſe as alſo did the Earles of Sancerre and Bordillon of their parte. And albeit that the Captayne *Graye* his Engliſhe light horſe, hauing quitted him, and carryed away his armour and horſe, gaue occaſion to the enemie to ſende two thouſande horſe as farre as Oyſe, to paſſe ouer there, and ſtoppe theſe Couriers, yet durſte they not for all that venter any further, but returned to the Campe, hauing founde the Frenche watchfull at all handes, as diſgrace awaketh and keepeth all kinde of perſons within their duetie, more then proſperitie, or any other accident.

The Engliſhe which ſerued K. Henry gained by thoſe of Philips ſide, leaue their Captaine and flye.

To returne to the Mareſchall *Briſſac* his actions in Piemont, whileſt that hee employed his armie, in attending the effect of the long promiſes, which had bene made him of his paye, to waſte the Countrie rounde about Foſſan, blocke in Cony, and hindering them both from hauing any ſuccoures, eſpecially of victualles or other neceſſaries, *De Lambres*, an ordinarie groome of the Kinges Chamber, was diſpatched vnto him, on the 15. of Auguſt, to aduertiſe him of the defeat, and taking of the Coneſtable, vnder Saint Quentins, and of the continuance of the Siege thereof. And further carryed a commaundement vnto him, to ſende away thither out of hande, *De Termes*, and *D'Anuille*, with their Companies, & the Regiment of Swizers which were in Piemont, the better to further the affayres of the Realme. Whereupon a Counſell was helde, at Lagaſque, and therein it was reſolued that they ſhoulde departe with their Companies. And how that in regarde of the Swizers, and other affayres which as then fell out, the Secretarie *Bounin* ſhoulde bee diſpatched, with charge to condole with his Maieſtie, for ſo great a loſſe, and diſaſtre on the behalfe of all his ſeruantes in Piemont. And further moſt humblie to deliuer vnto him, what their opinion and aduiſe was, for the preuenting of ſuch inconueniences, as mought growe by ſuch an accident: The ſubſtance whereof was howe his Maieſtie ſhould himſelfe embrace the conducte of his affayres, and commaunde a Leuie forthwith to be made, of twentie thouſande Almaines, and thirtie thouſande Frenche, with correſpondent Forces of Cauallerie. And that this armie mought bee on foote, before ſuch time as the enemie ſhoulde haue taken Saint Quentins, or at the leaſt aſſayled, taken, and fortified any other place, That to be able to reſtore all thinges into good tearmes, and for a long time to entertaine the ſaide Armie, it were neceſſarie to make a good prouiſion of money, taking vp to that ende, an whole yeeres reuennewe of the Biſhoprickes, Abbayes, and other benefices, without excepting anye, ſauing ſuch as ſtill trauayled, and ſpente their owne about his Maieſtie. Who mought, if it pleaſed him, beginne with the Biſhoppe of Conſtance, Couſin to the ſayde Mareſchall. Who likewiſe was of aduiſe, that the Eſtates ſhoulde be aſſembled, and that his Maieſtie in perſon ſhoulde deliuer the neceſſitie of his affayres, and demaunde ſuccour therein. And that all that, which mought be ſo drawne out, was not able to ſupplie the wante: That he ſhould in the like ſorte helpe himſelfe by the Nobilitie, beginning with him, taking all his reuennewes, ſauing two thouſande livers, which mought be left to his wife, to nouriſhe her ſelfe and her children withall. That the Swizers ſhoulde make themſelues readye to marche, albeit that they were ſo tyred, and neare driuen of all handes, by being euill payde, as that they woulde hardly be able to bee ariued within Fraunce, before that the occaſion for which his M. ſought

Defeate of S. Quentins. De Termes and De Anuille.

The K. meanes to drawe out of the Clergies & Nobilities reuennewes.

them

them were paſſed ouer. And that by this meanes Piemont without cauſe woulde remayne vnarmed, and in great daunger: beſides the loſſe of time and expence, which had bene employed and beſtowed vpon the bringing of the ſayde Foſſan and Cony into that extreame neceſſities in which they then ſtoode. But at the ſeconde ſummons of his Maieſtie, the Swizers muſt of neceſſitie be ſent away, who as it was foretolde grewe altogether vnprofitable, thorough the long aboade which they made at Lions, being very ſicke, weake, and euill payde. The Switzers goe out of Piemont

Nowe the Mareſchall hauing vnderſtood that vpon this defeate his Maieſtie had cauſed newe Companies of men at armes to be addreſſed, hee greatly beſought for *La Mothe Gondrin, Franciſque Bernardrin de Pauan*, and Vicompt *Gourdon*, but they mought not be gratified. He offered for all that to come in perſon himſelfe vnto his Maieſtie, in this his great neceſſitie to doe him ſeruice, but it woulde not bee accepted.

Certayne dayes after his Maieſtie perceyuing howe few Forces were remayning in Piemont, the Swizers being departed thence, and foreſeeing the daunger of ſome inconuenience like to enſue, ſente worde vnto the Mareſchall, that in ſteade of thoſe Swizers, he ſhoulde with all ſpeede leuie newe Companies of foote, and that hee ſhoulde wante no money to that ende. Notwithſtanding there was onely ſente to paye the olde bandes, which were in extreame neceſſitie, many monethes hauing bene due vnto them: Yea, and in ſteade of remedying the neceſſities of Piemont, his Maieſties pleaſure was, to accept the offer, which vnwitting to the Mareſchall was made vnto him by the Vidaſme of Chartres, Colonell of the Infanterie, for carrying into Fraunce from thence two thouſand Frenche harquebuſiers, and as many Italians. Which being accordingly put in execution, it was altogether apparaunt, that thereby his Maieſties affayres were put into extreame perill and ruyne, the enemies being ſtrong, and the Frenche feeble, ill payde, and comming ſo lately from receyuing the deſaſtre of the defeate of the Armie, and loſſe of Saint Quentins. The Vidaſme of Chartres carieth 2000. Fantaſſins into Fraunce.

As the time thus paſſed away, with verie ſmall aduauntage to the Kings affayres, the Preſident *Baillif*, made offer vnto the King of himſelfe, and vnwitting to the Mareſchall, that hee mought leuie in Piemont, two or three hundred thouſande crownes, leuying three crownes vpon euery houſholder, which offer was not onely accepted without any aduiſe at all demaunded of the Mareſchall, but there was likewiſe preſte money deliuered vnto him vpon the aſſignations of Piemont. And whileſt that his Maieſtie made difficultie to heare ſuch reaſons as mought bee alleadged touching the impoſſibilitie of ſuch a leuie, there was no prouiſion made for ſuccour of men, nor money, in ſo much as many loſſes and inconueniences were readye to enſue: Eſpecially for that the Vidaſme ſtill purſued the execution of his Leuie of two thouſande harquebuſiers.

For if any man woulde haue conſtrayned the bandes of Piemont, to muſter without paye, it was to be feared that it would haue happened worſe then it did at Cony. The more likely, conſidering in what vnfauourable tearmes, his Maieſties affayres as then ſtoode. Who mought very well haue called to minde howe diuers and ſundrye times woorde was ſente vnto him, that the prolonging of the Muſters, was onely wrought and occaſioned, by the delaye of the money, the wante whereof rendred the ſouldiers poore, and made them diſobedient, and an euidente loſſe to the finances of his Maieſtie, which notwithſtanding they colde by no meanes remedie, without hauing meanes to make a rigorous muſter. All thinges being thus

conducted in this ſort, and the death of *Salueson* happening gouernour of *Caſal*: his Maieſtie as he was accuſtomed to doe in like vacances, neuer tarying for the aduice & nomination of the Marſhall, placed *Franciſque Bernardin* therein, fayning as though he had vnderſtoode that hee and not *La motte Gondrin* had beene put into *Caſal* after the death of *Salueson*. And albeit that his Maieſtie did afterwardes reuoke this nomination, yet matters were in ſuch ſorte handeled as *Franciſque Bernardin* ſtil ſtomached the Marſhal the rather for that at his return from the Court into *Piemont*, he was not gratefied nor honoured in ſuch ſorte as hee expected: hee recommended likewiſe *Mont baſin* to haue the place of gentleman of the chamber which *Saluesson* before had. But he was not able to obtaine it, ſo as he, & many other of the Kings ſeruantes, ſeeing how little credite was giuen to the Marſhals recommendations, albeit they were for men of merite began to diminiſh their affection, and ſome of them to aske leaue to depart homewardes to follow their aduauncement, alleadging that none but ſuch as went to the court were aduaunced and recompenſed. Thus vpon theſe occaſions, began many complaintes, diſobediences and quarrels to ariſe, which notwithſtandinge receiued an other kinde of conſtruction then this: ſo as being inforced thereunto the twenty and eyght of September, hee let the King to vnderſtand how many Captaines, gentlemen, and other officers daylie departed away without leaue as wel for want of pay, as that they perceiued right wel, how they ſhould neuer receiue any preferment, through his recommendation: among whome *Pauan* had for this occaſion quitted and giuen ouer his Lieuetenancie: and the Baron of *Ardrets*, the Captaine *Bouuall*, Sergent Maior of *Caſal*, and ſundry other perſonages who had long and faithfully ſerued. But notwithſtanding he made light account thereof, ſo as euerie man began to ſeeke an other ſupporte then his, and to perke vp the noſe againſt him. Now as his Maieſty ſtoode aduertiſed how that the enemies had leuied great companies of reſolute men in readines after the comming of the D. of *Alua*, (whome they attended within fewe dayes at *Gennes* with the forces of the kingdome of *Naples*) to aſſaile eyther *Piemonte*, or the D. of *Ferrara*, (who for that cauſe had made great inſtance, that his Maieſties forces might approch to the D. of Milan) the Marſhall beſought him to prouide thereto aſwell with force, as money: to the end he might preuent in time and place, ſuch inconueniences, which a man mought perceiue prepared as well on the one ſide as the other. And for ſomuch as his maieſtie had made ſemblance to miſlike the difficultie which the Marſhal made vpon the leuy of two thouſande Harquebuſiers, whō the *Vidaſme* offred to bring into Fraunce, diſpatching the eighteene the Secretarie *Bounin*, for inſtance of ſupplie and prouiſion of money, he gaue him in charge to declare vnto his ſaide Maieſtie that whatſoeuer he had done was not with any intention to contrary his will, but for ſo much as his Maieſtie had not as then countermand (as he had done ſince the thirteenth) the Enſignes of the *Zuizers*, who not returning backe, and the ſaide two thouſande Harquebuſiers going away, there was ſmal likelihood. But *Piemont* would remaine altogether at the enemies diſcreation. And whē as this conſideration could not preuaile. Yet he ſaide that he had otherwiſe occaſion enough to remaine euill ſatiſfied, ſeeing that ſuch an offer had beene made without euer communicating the ſame vnto him, and afterwards accepted without euer demaunding his aduiſe, as it ſeemed reaſonable, ſince that he gouerned Piemont the principall charge whereof it pleaſed his Maieſtie to beſtowe vpon him. Notwithſtanding he ceaſed not all thinges layde by, rather to fauour then hinder the Vidaſme. And as it was giuen him in charge at the ſame time, to leuie, according to

the

Death of Saluesin.

Franciſque Bernardin Gouernour of Caſel.

Saluesson gentleman of the Chamber.

The credit of a Gouernour is impayred among his owne except it appeare ſomewhat about his ſoueraigne.

Pauan, Baron of Adrek, Bouual de parte.

The D. of Alua commeth in Piemont with his armie.

The Mareſchal mal content.

the propoſition made by the Preſidente *Bailly*, three crownes of taxe vpon euery houſholder, whereof his Maieſtie made full accounte, without demaunding his aduiſe at all therein, yet reſting onely vpon the ſeruice of his Maieſtie, hee did ſo much, as that he leuyed vpon the Countrey ſixe ſcore thouſande liuers, wherewith he relieued himſelfe, attending better prouiſion. Vpon which leuie, what fayre wordes ſoeuer or amiableneſſe he could vſe, many inconueniences were readie to enſewe. Shortly after, the King in like ſorte commaunded him, that hee ſhoulde ſende vnto him, by *Lodun*, the Commiſſions for the Captaynes, which ought to be prouided of vacant Companies, which hee muſt needes doe, albeit he had neuer meddled with thoſe Companies ſince the comming of the Vidaſme: notwithſtanding that all his predeceſſours had bene accuſtomed, to nominate the ſame companies, as had bene practiſed as well by himſelfe in his owne right being Colonell of the footemen, as by them which had bene before him. This diſgrace was likewiſe offered vnto him, that notwithſtanding any requeſt which had bene made by him in the fauour of *Oſſun*, and *Fraunciſque Bernardin*, to be a meanes they mought receyue the order, hee coulde neuer yeilde them any aſſurance thereof, but it was *D'Amille* which carried it away, ſo as euer after they depended on the Conſtable. In ſumme, the Mareſchall ſtill continuing, to make inſtaunce of ſupplie, wherewith he mought be able to oppoſe himſelfe againſt his enemies forces, who might vndertake eyther the forcing of ſome holde or fortifiyng themſelues in ſome new, and by that meanes mought abate their nomber, it was aunſwered him, that they were matters eaſier talked of then done, and that he muſt needes confeſſe, that winter was alwayes winter, during which ſeaſon, men were accuſtomed to ſurceaſe armes. An aunſwere in deede coyned by his enemies, who woulde not ſo much as call to minde the taking of Lans, Valence, Iuree, and ſundry other places in the monethes of December and Ianuarie, in the very hearte of Winter. Thus did the complayntes of the Mareſchall moue the Kinges Counſell bente to turne their eyes an other waye, no more, then the newes of their enemies comming into Piemont, no not ſo much as the deſcente of the Duke of Alua, at Gennes with 7000. men: and that attending their ariuall in Piemont, the enemies had put themſelues within Galliany, (which the Mareſchall willing to haue fortified, onely for a time to haue founde the enemie occupyed, was conſtrayned for want of money, to leaue and rayſe it) which they beganne to fortifie. And leſſe the going away of many Captaines and ſouldiers day by day, eſpecially the Captaine *Benes* who demaunded leaue to departe home to his owne houſe, and replie being made vnto him, that hee did but come thence, hee perſiſted to ſay that hee woulde goe, come what woulde, and whereas he was aduiſed to take time to conſider thereof, and afterwardes deliuer his minde vnto the Mareſchall, he refuſed it, and the nexte morning wente home without once bidding farewell. For this cauſe he beſought his Maieſtie, that ſuch diſobedience mought not goe vnpuniſhed, and that his Companie mought be beſtowed on the Captaine *Liſle*: which the King liked well of, and yet was it afterwardes rendred agayne vnto him. Of which the Mareſchall afterwardes complayning, and ſtanding vpon, it had bene deliuered and beſtowed on the Captaine *Liſle*, Serieant of the Battayle, who had long and faithfully ſerued, they woulde yeelde no credite at all vnto him, but the companie was beſtowed vpon *La Roche* a gentleman of *D'Amilles*, who had beene nothing ſo long a Seruitour. True it is that complainte beeing made of the wrong which thereby was done to the Mareſchall, it was in the ende reſtored to the Captaine *Liſle*. In fine the Mareſchall well weighing howe he was handled, & how that

Money leuied vpon Piemont.

The D. of Alua his armie at Gennes.

Captaine Liſle.

the

the inſtances and importunities which he continued as well by letters, as expreſſe meſſengers to haue the affaires of *Piemont* better prouided for, brought forth no fruit at all, as ſmall credit being yeelded thereunto, he beſought leaue of his Maieſty that he might come home, and kiſſe his hande, eſpecially to declare vnto him the eſtate of his affaires and to deliuer vp an account of the gouernement which hee had receyued, the which his Maieſtie graunted for this cauſe, hauing ſetled all thinges as conuenientlie as he was able hee departed out of *Piemont*, leauing *Gonnor* his brother the Kinges Liuetenant Generall in his abſence. Being arriued at the Court, & vnderſtanding how ſome bad impreſſions had beene put into the Kinges heade, as well againſt him as ſundry other Gouernours and Captaines in *Piemont*, he beſought his Maieſtie, hat he would ſende thither to ſift out the matters to the ende, that hee and they might be puniſhed, in caſe they were founde true: and if they were found contrary, that the accuſers might beare the puniſhment, which the accuſed ſhould haue deſerued: to the ende that by this example all falſe accuſers might bee taught. Notwithſtanding his Maieſtie woulde doe nothing, ſaying that hee beleeued no whit at all the accuſers, that he ſhould ſpeake no more thereof, but perſeuer wel & diligentlie to doe him ſeruice. Let vs leaue the Mareſchall at the Courte, to looke backe into the olde purſuites which they began to renew againſt the *Lutheranes*, for expiation of the deſaſtre and miſfortune of *S. Quentins*.

The Mareſchall Briſſac going out of Piemõt, leueth Gonnor his brother Liuetenant generall.

As the managing of forraine affayres, doeth ordinarily breede a careleſſenes amonge men at home, the great ones bare ſuch an affection to theſe warres, and the Churchmen and iuſtices turned their eye ſo far fixed thereon, for feare leaſt the euent thereof would giue ſome ſhrewde checke to all Fraunce. And beſides they diſpenſed by little and little in ſuch ſorte, with the purſuites of thoſe which had beene accuſed for the euill opinions which they held of the faith, as now a man could not ſee in all places but an incredible number of *Lutheranes*, to the great diſaduantage of the Catholicques, notwithſtanding any ſeuere ordinances or rigorous puniſhment, which had beene before made againſt them. There was no ſpeech but of the ſecrete aſſemblies which night and day were made in many places, and eſpecially in *Paris*: where in the end they diſcouered one in S. *Iacques* ſtreete, right ouer againſt the Colledge of *Pleſſis*. Many ſaued themſelnes, yet ſome were ſlayne in their owne defence, and a great number remained there of priſoners, of all ſexes, ages, and qualities, the women were the vnchoiſed, beaten, and railed at in all ſortes. Among whom the Ladies *Douartie*, *de* Rentigny and *de Champaigne*, with miſtreſſe *Graueron de Guienne*, neere *S. Foy* were priſoners. *De Graueles* a younge aduocate in Parlement, *Clinet* a ſchoolemaiſter, renowned for his knowledge, and ſundry other to the number of ſixe ſcore were taken, and clapt faſt in holde, afterwardes theſe two with *Graueron* hauing their tongue cut out beeauſe they ſhold not ſpeake, were burned together in the place *Maubert*, and a number of other in ſundrye other places. Certaine daies after *Graueron* his confiſcation was begged, and obtayned by the Marqueſſe of *Trans*, ſonne in Lawe to *Bertrandie*, keeper of the great Seale. But theſe Ladies after long detayning were reſtored to their husbandes, cleane contrary to them in religion, and the widowe *D'ouartie* was ſent backe to the Queene: for this cauſe ſundry Articles were added as then to the former, aſwell againſt theſe aſſemblies, as agaynſt bookes brought from Geneua: and they began a freſh a newe purſuite agaynſt the people, giuing out that they aſſembled by night together, and hauing put the candels out, each man adreſſed himſelfe to her that liked him beſt, to abuſe her at his pleaſure. Vpon theſe proceedinges and perſecutions, about which

Aſſemblie of Lutherans diſcouered in S. Iacques ſtreet in Paris

Lutherans puniſhed.

there

there grew a great sturre betweene the Liuetenant Ciuile, and Criminel of Paris, before which of them the cause shoulde bee tryed, *Mussnier* being the Ciuill, shewed himselfe so sharpe vpon this pursuit, as he tooke the matter vpon him aboue the Criminell, to whome in very deede it ought to haue appertayned. A little before the King hauing beene perswaded that by some fault of obedience in the iudges, or thorough the strife for one an others iurisdiction, and to auoide the expenses of the pursuites, how that the *Lutheranes* were so sore multiplied, and assemblies alreadie made by them in publike, ordayned at *Compiegne* 24. of *Iulie*. 1557. *That the Ecclesiasticall Iudges should not be troubled, in the trial, award of processe, or iurisdictions of any crime of Heresie. That the royall iudges should hold plea, awarde Proces and punish all Sacramentaries, & disturbers of the publike repose, vpon paine of death. But the confiscations and fines which should growe vpon their iudgementes, to charitable and publike workes, not to the kinges vse, who renounceth the giftes and whatsoeuer els might thereby growe vnto him.* Shortely after the Prince being as yet further animated by the Churchmen, for the great assemblies which the *Lutherans* made throughout his whole Realme, especially in *Paris*, aswel to celebrate the Supper and other exercises of their religion, as to goe a whoaringe said they, and commit other detestable actes forbad these conuenticles, vpon payne of raising the houses in which they should bee made, to what Lord soeuer they were proper, at *Villier Cotteretz* the 14. of *September*, 1559. And for the better confirmation thereof King *Francis* the second added since payne of death, to all such as should bee the authours of such assemblies, whether they were made for religion or no, and that as well by day as night, and to all such as should assist, without hope of euer hauing their houses builded vp againe: at *Blais* in the moneth of *Nouember* 1559. And the 14. of *Nouember* hee pardoned the discloser thereof, and gaue him for the first time one hundred crownes. And afterwardes he willeth in *February* following, that all Lords Iustices shall be depriued of their iusticeshippes, and the royall officers of their estates and offices, which shoulde any wayes bee founde negligent in punishing of the authours of these assemblies, with an iniunction to the officers to aduertise him of their duetie within on moneth after any such assemblie made, and his procters generall, to whome they should send the coppie of the information, and other proceedinges thereupon. The *Lutheranes* in like sort, to put out of mens heades, especially of the Princes, and Churchmen, such vile conceites as had beene giuen out and imprinted within them, as well of heresie as of their filthie and lewde behauiours in their assemblies, which they made night and day, aduised themselues, to cause the articles of their confession of faith, to be presented vnto the King and published in all places, and to beseech his Maiestie that it might be permitted vnto them to assemble themselues in publike, to the end all men might see how they behaued themselues, offring to yeelde themselues to any such payne and punishment, as it shoulde please him to ordayne, in case they were founde of any worse conuersation then the rest of the Christians. There ensued thereof, what you shall belowe perceiue.

Ordinances against the Lutheranes.

Now since that all Fraunce, feeling the discommoditie of the disastre of S. *Quentin*, no man could abstaine from pouring out complaintes, some attributing the euill to haue proceeded from the ambition of the one side, some from the couetousnes of the other parte, there were enough founde, which imputing the cause to arise no whit from any man, saide that God was the sole authour thereof, to stirre vp the slacknes both of great and small, because they did not their duety in the prosecutinge of the Lutheranes, of whome if Fraunce, nay all Christendome were not in shorte space purged, the Kinge himselfe ought not to expect any other progresse of his life,

and

& managing of his eſtate, then accurſed and reprochfull to his whole poſteritie. In ſomme they ſo animated this Prince, to renew and increaſe the puniſhment of thoſe people, that it neuer grewe ſo hot a time for them as then, which not being able to remedie by any ſo earneſt purſuites as by flight, recantation, or diſſimulation, they endeuoured to mollifie the courage of the greater ſorte, ſo hotly enflamed againſt them, by a little writing, wherein they inforced themſelues to proue that all the ſcourges and calamities ſent from God vpon that Realme, proceeded onely from the contempt & corruption of the true worde of God, whereof they perſecuted the true miniſters and executors. Adding in the end ſuch meanes as the King ſhould holde, if he would ſee his Realme happie, with a repoſe agreeable to all his ſubiects, and cleare deliuered from all differentes, which might fall out for the matter of Religion.

Perſecution of the Lutheranes.

THe calamities and afflictions (ſaid they) *which poſſeſſe all Chriſtendome, cleane oppreſſed and left deſolate, were ſo great, as euery man confeſſed that they proceeded from the iuſt iudgements of God, and for that men ſuffred ſo many ſortes of hereſies to be hatched forth, as raigne at this preſent. But the miſcheefe was indeede, for that none of them, which had the publicke gouernemente, and to whome it appertained to prouide thereto, did regard with any good iudgement founded vpon the holy Scriptures, who were the Heretickes, and what the true and falſe is, thence to drawe out a true rule & concorde, and that the true office of a King was to giue himſelfe to the knowledge of ſuch differentes, as had done to the good Kinges* Ezechias, Ioſias *and other.* And afterwardes hauing laide downe which were the markes and differences of the true and falſe Religion, it was written in theſe termes. *Conſider I beſeech now (Sir) and you ſhall finde, that all afflictions happened vnto you, at ſuch time as you vndertooke to runne ouer thoſe whome you call Lutheranes. When you made your edict of Chaſteaubriant, then did God ſende warre vnto you. But when you cauſed the execution thereof to ceaſe, and at long as you were enemie to the Pope, being gon into Allemaigne for the protection of the Germaine liberty, defended by the Proteſtantes, and afflicted for religion: your affaires proſpered, as your owne hearte coulde wiſh. Contrariwiſe what is happened vnto you ſince that you are ioyned with the Pope, hauing receiued from him a ſworde, which hee ſent vnto you for his protection, and who was the cauſe to make you breake the truce. God hath turned in one inſtant your proſperities, into ſuch afflictions, that they are no leſſe to bee feared vpon your ſelfe then vpon your realme. To what ende is* Monſieur de Guiſe *his enterpriſe in* Italie *turned, going to the ſeruice of the enemie of God, with full deliberation to ruine at his returne the valleies of* Piemont, *to ſacrifice them vnto God as a fruite of his victories. The iſſue hath well ſhewed how that God is able to reuerſe our deliberations, as of late hee did that of* Monſieur le Conеſtable *at S.* Quentins, *on S. Laurence day, hauing vowed vnto God that at his returne he would go ruine Geneua, if he obtained the victorie.* Afterwardes hauing alledged a number of diuers perticular examples, of marke notwithſtanding, and of all ſortes of eſtates, who (they ſaide) dyed of a ſtrange and extraordinary faſhion, hauing beene ſworne enemies to the *Lutheranes*, they added. *If it pleaſe your Maieſtie well to aduiſe thereof, you ſhall finde that you had no ſoener concluded to runne them ouer, but euen as ſodenly newe troubles were ſtirred vp by your enemies, with whome you haue not beene able to fall to any accorde. The which God hath not permitted, for that the foundation of the peace, was vpon the perſecution which you determined to make of the ſeruantes of God. As alſo the Cardinals haue not beene able by their crueltie, to hinder the courſe of the Goſpell, which hath already taken ſo deepe a roote within your Realme, as if God ſhoulde ſlacke you the bridle to roote them out, you ſhoulde bee as it were a Kinge without ſubiectes*

Tertulli-

Tertullian very well saide that the blood of Martirs was the seede of the Gospell. To take away then al these mischeefes, proceeding from the riches of the Papistes, which causeth so great whoredoms, Sodomies & incests, wallowing & nourishing thēselues like swine, with idle bellies, the best way were to put them again into their former estate, as the ancient sacrificers the Lewites were, to wit without lands & possessions, as an expresse commandement therof was giuen to Iosua. For as long as the ordinaunce of God tooke place and that they were exempt from ambition, the puritie of religion remained in her entier. But when as they beganne to aspire to principalities, riches, and worldly honoures, then did those abhominations swell out which Iesus Christ there founde. Thus was it in the Primitiue Church: for shee flowrished & remained in puritie, as longe as her ministers were simple, and sought not their owne greatnes and particular profit, but onely the glory of God. For when as the Popes beganne to tende to a Superintendency, and vsurped the true Domaine of the Empire, vnder a shadow of a false Donation, they wrested the scriptures, and attributed vnto themselues that service which we owe vnto God. Therefore your Maiestie may with good right cease vpon all their temporalties in a sound conscience to imploy them to their true & proper vse. First to the maintainance of the faithfull ministers of Gods word, which should be distributed amonge them for their nouriture and entertainement as the case should require. Secondly to the maintenance of the officers of your Iustice. Thirdely to the nouriture & entertainement of Colledges, and to bring vp the youth of the poore to what they should bee most apt to be applyed. And for the rest which is infinite, it should remaine for the maintenaunce of your owne estate, conducting of your owne affaires, and comfort of your poore people which onely carieth the barthen, and possesseth as it were nothing. And in doing this an infinite number of men, and especially of your nobilitie, which now live of the Crucifix, will imploy themselues to your service, and the Commonwealthes, so much the more diligently, as they shall see that you will recompence none but such as shall haue deserued it. For there is neyther Captayne, nor Lorde, which will not thinke himselfe better recompensed with a benefite of 500. liuers, then to see 1000. to bee giuen vnto his brother, to haue them spent in Dogges, and whoares. And there is an infinite number of men within your Realme, which occupie the fayrest estates and offices, and neuer deserued ought of the common wealth. By this meanes it shold be an easie matter for your Maiestie to be serued onely by your owne frenche nation in the warres, according to the aduise and councell of the Sieur de Langey. For you shall finde but too many men, in whome there shalbe more fidelitie, then in strangers, which exercise themselues in warre with your expence, and cary the money cleane out of your Realme. As also the summes which yow giue yearely for pensions to forrainers, & such as go to Rome euery day for Collations of benefices, which lend that againe to your enemis, to make warre against your selfe. And in thus doing, all shall remaine still in your owne Realme, which thereby will grow rich, opulent, and inuincible. When the Papistes doe see that they haue no reason at all to gainesay, then doe they assay to render such as they call Lutherianes, odious vnto your Maiesty, and tell you (if their saying were true) that you should bee made a priuate person, and that there neuer happened any change of Religion, but the like ensued of the Gouernment. A matter as false, as their accusing of vs to bee Sacramentaries, and that wee deny the authoritie of Magistrates, vnder colour of of some furious Anabaptistes, which Satan hath stirred vp in our time to obscure the light of the Gospell. For the histories of the Emperours which first began to receiue the Christian religion, & that which is happened in our owne time declare the contrary. Was there euer Prince more feared and obeyed then Constantine was in receiuing the Christian Religion? Did he therefore abandon the Empire? Nay he was rather so much the more confirmed therein, and those of his posterity which were contented to be guided thereby. For touching those which swarued away, and followed mens traditions, God hated them, yea their race is no longer continued vpon the earth, in so great horrour doth God hold them which abandon him, be it neuer so little.

And

And in our time the late Kinges of England & Princes of Germany, were they at any tyme conſtrained, in purging away of ſuch ſuperſtitions as the malice of time had brought in, to abridge their kingdomes & principalities? Euery one may cleerly ſee the contrary. And how great honor, obedience, and fidelitie, doe thoſe people beare vnto their Princes and ſuperiours, which haue receiued the reformation of the Goſpell in our time? Nay I might ſay how that Princes before knew not what it was to bee obeyed, when as the rude and groſſe people would eaſily receiue the Popes diſpenſation, to driue out their Princes and naturall Lordes. Did you euer perceiue any of thoſe, whome they call Lutheranes, to tende to any trouble or ſedition, notwithſtandinge the cruell puniſhmentes which they haue endured? I call for this to witnes Monſieur le Mareſhall de Briſſac, *if he haue founde within* Piemont, *any people more obedient, then thoſe of the valles of* Angrongne, *and the reſt, and when at any time hee laide any charge vpon them, were it neuer ſo hard, if they did not beare it without murmuring. Whereas if they had not held for certaine that Kinges, Princes and* Magiſtrates, *are ordained of God, they woulde not ſo willingly haue obeyed: but being conſtrayned by force would more ſlackely haue behaued themſelues. The true and onely remedy (Syr) is, that you cauſe a holy and free councell to be held, wherein your ſelfe ſhall proceede, and not the Pope, nor any of his, which ought onely to defend their cauſes by the holie Scriptures. This done according to the example of the good Kinges* Iehoſaphat, Ezechias, & Ioſias, *you muſt aboliſh out of the Church all kindes of Idolatrie, ſuperſtitions, and abuſes, which ſhall bee founde directly againſt the holie Scriptures, and new Teſtamente: you muſt range your ſelfe together with your people to the true and pure ſeruice of God, without harkeninge any whitte to the Papiſtes ſayinges, that ſuch queſtions haue beene decyded in the ſayde Councelles. For wee knowe well enough, that no Councell hath beene lawfull, ſince that the Popes hauinge vſurped principalitie, and tyranny ouer the ſoules, made them but to ſerue to their owne couetouſnes, ambition and crueltie. And the contrarietie which is founde in them, maketh them to bee ſufficiently diſprooued, with an hundred thouſand other abſurdities againſt the word of God, which are to bee ſeene therein. The true diſproouing of theſe deciſions is to bee founde in the true and ſacred Scriptures, to which neyther tyme nor age coulde giue any preſcription. For by them wee receyue the Councels founded vpon the worde of God: and by them wee reiect whatſoeuer contrarieth the ſame. And if you doe thus (Sir) God will bleſſe your enterpryſe, hee will encreaſe and confirme your raygne and Empire, and likewiſe your poſteritie: if otherwiſe, the ruine is at your dore, and accurſed is the people which ſhall remaine vnder your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your hart, as he did to* Pharaoh: *take your Crowne from off your heade as he did to* Ieroboam, Nadad, Baaſa, Achab, *and as many of the reſt of the Kinges as followed mens traditions, contrary to Gods commaundement: and giue you ouer to your enemies, to triumph ouer your ſelfe and your chileren. And if the Emperour* Anthonie *the gracious albeit hee was a Pagan and idolater, ſeeing himſelfe oppreſſed with ſo many warres, was willinge to cauſe the perſecutions to ceaſe, which in his tyme were made againſt the Chriſtians differinge vntill the ende thereof, to prouide thereunto, and to heare their reaſons howe much more ought you which beare the name of Moſt Chriſtian, to bee carefull and diligent to make theſe perſecutions to ceaſe, againſt the poore Chriſtians, eſpecially conſideringe that they neuer did nor doe trouble, in any kinde of ſorte the eſtate of your Realme, or of your aſſayres, nor tende to any ſedition or trouble? Conſidering in like ſorte, that the Iewes are ſuffred throughout all Chriſtendome, albeit they are naturall enemies to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt whome we holde by our common accorde for our God, Redeemer and Sauiour? and vnto whom you ſhall haue hearde the matter lawfully debated, and alſo vnderſtande our reaſons taken out of the holie Scriptures? And that your Maieſtie of your ſelfe iudge, whether wee bee worthy of ſuch puniſhmente. For if wee bee not conuicted by the worde of*

God

God: fire, sworde, nor the most cruell tormentes in the worlde, shall daunte vs no whit at all. They be the exercises which God hath promised to his, and hath foretolde them, that they must happen in the latter time, to the ende they shoulde not be troubled, when they see such persecutions to fall out.

The chiefer sorte for all that made no accompte at all of all these reasons, and neuer the whit lesse ceased the Lutherane persecution, recommended thoroughout all Fraunce.

Were it that they were not disclosed vnto them, or that the Catholicques watred them with some other contrary reasons, which animated them more then euer.

Let vs leaue then the fires, the bloude, the complaintes, and discourse of the *Lutheranes* running ouer the whole Realme, and quarters bordering about, to looke backe agayne into the happie, and no lesse bloudie progresse of the desseines which the Spanyarde thought to execute ouer the fayrest of all Fraunce.

The Prince of Piemont being resolued in the meane space to continue the Siege of Saint Quenrins, woulde in no case hearken to their aduise, which counselled him, to passe forwardes to the pursuite of so fayre a Treate: considering that Fraunce was altogether daunted, at the losse of so many of her nobilitie, and good Souldiers: besides the absence of the Duke of Guise, which had carried into Italie the rest of the flower of Fraunce: that the Parisians alreadie trembled, who halfe resolued to quitte their Towne, woulde cleane abandon it, onely vpon the apparaunce of a seconde Bastonnadade: that in summe there wanted no more for him nowe, but courage to presenre himselfe in the viewe of so riche a Citie, to heape vpon himselfe the tryumph of an immortall glory.

He on the contrary parte weighing the vnconstant varietie of humaine thinges, the most assured whereof cleane ruyne themselues by the r'encounter of a much more simple accident then one will easily beleeue: the riches, the infinite populousnes of Fraunce, the nomber of Princes and other personages of marke escaped from the battayle, the thousandes of men of warre, which were in so many Garisons dispersed ouer all the Frontires, readie to make vp an other freshe Armie, against his altogether tyred, hauing by the losse of so many gallaunt men bought his honour, esteemed it much more safe, to blocke in straighter then euer, the Admirall and *Dandelot* his brother, who was entered in with fiue hundred men onely, of all the succours which the Conestable coulde get, as I before tolde you: the ariuall of which encouraged the rest, who had almost quitted all, as soone as they percyued some of the frenche Enseignes to stande on the toppe of the Spanishe Trenches. Whose presence caused them to suspecte that, which a fewe souldiers, which were escaped and entred in, assured them of, especially after the magnificent salutation and welcome, which the whole Armie made vnto King *Philip*, who caused the Cannon shotte to redouble, hauing brought other from Cambray, with intente to beate Sainte Quentins into powder, or blowe it vp by force of Mines, which they continued there and renewed daye by daye, albeit they were vented often enough by the countermines of the beseeged, among whome *S. Remy* trauayled without ceasse, and *Lanfort* an Englishe man, whose countermine was more aduaunced then any of the rest.

K. Philip commeth tor his Armie after the battayle.

And forasmuch as the Admirall could not get any great seruice of the Inhabitants

and Pioners, he thruſt out ſixe hundred of the moſt idle bellies, whoſe example though in their viewe they ſawe them well beaten and euill intreated by the Spanyardes, coulde for all that little ſtirre them vp, ſo wearie were they, and backward to the perfourmance of their duetie.

The Fleminges and Spanyardes ariued before Saint Quentins the ſeconde day of Auguſt, and from that day, vntill the one and twentieth, they went about no other worke, then digging and hollowing the Trenches, as well for the ſuretie of the Artillerie, as the better to approache and gayne the Ditches.

The 22. of Auguſt the Spanyardes beganne their great Batterie at S. Quentins.

They which were beſieged in the meane ſpace, coulde not greatly annoye them with any ſallie they made vpon them, (as it hath beene tolde you, by reaſon of the ſmall nomber of thoſe which were beſieged, and for that all the ſallies which the Lorde Admirall cauſed to be made, were onely but to take breathe, and to be aduertiſed of what his enemies meant to vndertake: for ſo much as hee doubted leaſt they woulde worke ſome newe Mynes, whereof hee coulde not haue any knoweledge at all.

That daye, as ſoone as euer it beganne to breake, they ſaluted the Towne, with a full Batterie. For all the ſhotte that had beene before, came from the platfourme of the Fauxbourg D'Iſle, whence they ſawe them worke and countermine, continuing the playe of the Cannon, all the whole day long, and not at one onely place, not much of the night paſſing ouer, but that they ſtill remooued their Pieces from one place to another, to make a newe batterie. For from the ſeconde day, they beganne to digge and carrie forth the earth of the Ditche on their ſide, and ſhortly after they propped vp coueringes with great Timber, vnder which they mought trauerſe to and fro, and enter within the Ditches, without any man beeing able to doe them harme. Becauſe there were not any Flanckers at all to commaunde the Ditch, where they mought eyther viewe, or laye batterie vnto them. And all the ſtones which they were able to fling at them, coulde not endammage them, by reaſon of the coueringes, vnder which they creapte.

They began their Batterie at the Windemyll, which was neare vnto Saint Iohns gate, and afterwardes ſcowred this place, as farre as the Tower on the water, with ſuch a furie, that there was not lefte one ſole Tower, which was not rent and razed, with the better parte of the Courtayne, laying the Batterie in diuerſe places with fiue and fourtie Peeces.

All thoſe which were within were greatly couſined, and deceyued in one thing, that they thought the Maſons worke and Cyment of the towres and courtines much more ſtronger and better then it was, the ſteares and thickneſſe of the walles being very large. But the ſtuffe was ſo naught, that as ſoone as the toppe was but a little ſhaken and looſed, all the reſt fell downe of it ſelfe in great lumpes, whereby many were ſlayne and hurte with the creſtes and battlementes of the Parapettes.

On the 4 day of their Batterie, they carried twelue peces alongeſt the ſide of Bourg D'Iſle, and mounted them within the Abbey, from whence they battered the gate where the fire was put into powder, vntill they had made themſelues Maiſters of the Ditches. *S. Remy* ſtill well hoped to haue perfourmed ſome matter of worthe, but when he ſawe them once lodged within, he tolde the Admirall, that he was not able to doe them any more harme, for that they had gotten the vpper grounde of him: Reiterating many times, that he neuer ſet his foote in ſo badde a place, and that long before that, hee had aduertiſed the late King thereof. Not for that he was the more

diſmayed

dismayed thereat, or spoke of any pusillanimitie, but angrie, for that hee founde no remedie at all, nor such meanes as he coulde haue wished, being for the rest a man very resolute and wise. From the very first day of the Batterie, vntill the ende thereof, the Admirall, *D' Andelot*, and *S. Remy*, went euery night to viewe the damages, and ouvertures which the Artillerie had made, and on the day resolued with those Captaynes of the Quarters whome it concerned, of that which they had to execute.

After that the Batterie had continued foure dayes, there was a great feare engendred among those of the Towne, yea and the men of Warre themselues, which the Admirall getting knowledge of, walking by night to remedie the same, hee helde one language common and generall to them all, in a place, where almost all the Captaines, and many souldiers were assembled together, which was, that hee had firmely agreed, and resolued in his minde, to keepe that place with those men which he had, and if any man did at any time see him varie, or offer any speache of composition, hee gaue him leaue to throwe him downe as a cowarde into the Ditches: and in like case, if he founde any of them to parley to the contrary, he woulde doe no lesse by them. And by this occasion there neuer passed ouer daye, but two or three times hee woulde walke himselfe about the quarters, and in passing by, would demaunde the Captaines opinions, conferring and communicating with them, what was done in the rest of the places: according vnto that which hee had prayed them, the first day that he entred within the Towne, that euery man woulde aduertise him, of that which he esteemed best for the conseruation of the place. The batterie continued vntill the sixte daye, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, that they likewise presented themselues in sundry places within the ditches, as farre as the Parapettes at a pikes leangth.

At this presente, the Sentinell from the steeple of the great Churche, aduertised the Admirall, howe that of all handes the Armie raunged themselues into battaile, and that many footemen marched towards the Trenches. The which he caused to be made knowne, in all places and quarters of the Towne, to the ende that euery man might stande vpon his guarde, imagining that they meant that day to giue the assaulte, and he himselfe wente to three of the nexte breaches vnto him, to see what order was there kept. Where hee founde euerie man in all apparaunce willing to perfourme his duetie, the like whereof he also vnderstoode from all the rest of the places, whither he had sente Gentlemen to viewe. Which was the cause that himselfe returned backe agayne verie well content to the Breache. Which he kept, being that which he supposed the enemies meante to turne their principallest strength against: for that they euer most sought to batter this place, & to leaue nothing which might serue for Flanckes, especially for that it laye iust ouer against the entrie, which they had made into the Ditche.

As they were all thus attending the assaulte, the enemies put fire to three mines, all which were right vnder the Rampire, the principallest were in the quarter of *D' Anphin*. But the dammage was nothing so great as they looked for, being the cause that they gaue no assaulte that day. So afterwardes they did not ouermuch heate them selues, but were contented to goe and viewe the breaches on the Admirals side, and descende into the Ditche which *D' Andelot* kept.

After that the Spanyardes were retyred, the Admirall wente to viewe what hurte those Mines had made, and founde, that by that onuerture, they were not very

like to receyue or incurre any great danger, but that for all that, it was fitte to worke vpon it, which hee deferred vntill night, for that they durſte not touche there, or ſhewe themſelues by day, by reaſon of the full viewe, which their enemies Artillerie had of them.

The great aduantages of the Spaniardes and and ſmall meanes which the Frenche had to endure the ſiege.

Nowe were there eleauen breaches, many mines, the ditche gayned, and the Souldiers therein well couered, the Armie great to gayne the breaches, againſt eight hundred ſouldiers, and men at armes of all ſorts, diſtributed as the Admirall thought good, the counterminес little auaileable, becauſe that the Spanyarde being in the Ditche, had alreadie gayned the toppe, moſt of the ſouldiers wauering, as well for that day by day they ſawe the Cannon ſhotte redouble, to the loſſe of many of them, as thorough the ſmall number of people, which were lefte, and the badde handling of the matter by the Inhabitantes, which diſcouraged them as much as was poſſible. Hereupon the Prince of Piemont iudging the breaches reaſonable, gaue order for the aſſaultes. The firſt was giuen to Captaine *Cazeres*, Maiſter of the Campe of the olde Spaniſhe bandes, and to *Lazare* Colonell of fiueteene hundred Almaines, who were there much endamaged. The ſeconde to Captaine *Nauarret* with the Spaniardes, and the Compte of Meigue, with the Wallons. The thirde to Captaine *Iulian Romero* with three Enſeignes of Spaniardes, & two thouſande Engliſhe, who falling downe from the toppe of a breache, brake his legge. The fourth to Captayne *Carrondellette* with three Enſeignes of *Bourguignons*, who there loſte a hande. The Admirall in the meane time went and ſent to all places, to the ende euery man ſhoulde be readie to abide thē, & put them backe. At the laſt he diſcouered three Enſeignes at the foote of the Parapet, being gotten vp thither, without making any noyſe or ſounde of Dromme, at which time he made euery man preſente himſelfe to fight. But they coulde not repreſſe them in that place, but that they beganne to creepe and mounte vp by one and one to an high Tower, which had bene battered with Artillerie, at a corner of the Captayne *La Garde* his quarter. When the Admirall ſawe that they tooke that waye, hee was very glad, for there they grapeled and mounted verie vneaſily, and from the place where himſelfe ſtoode he mought a little diſcerne them thorough a Flancker, whereby he annoyed them as much as he was able with three harquebuſiers, which remayned with him, thinking verily, that it was vnpoſſible for them to force in that way. In the ende he ſawe thoſe Enſeignes which went vp to the top of the towre, put themſelues downe, but he preſumed that it was within ſome Trenche within the Parapet, to be more at coucrte, vntill they tolde him, that the enemies had forced the Breache. Then turning himſelfe towardes thoſe which ſtoode about him, he tolde them, that they muſt goe helpe to ſuccour it.

Vpon that *Saragoſſe* comming vnto him, asked him, whether he woulde goe, and what he would doe: to whom he aunſwered, that he meant to goe helpe to ſuſtaine the force of the Breache, which ſhoulde be offered, where eyther they muſt all dye, or put backe the enemie. And thereupon hee beganne to goe downe from off the Rampire.

Nowe you muſt vnderſtande, that he was not as then farre from the Towre, by which the Spanyardes entred, but there was a long trauerſe and a high, which hindered them from ſeeing what was done there.

The Admirall being come downe from off the Rampire, hee ſawe all that quarter cleane abandoned, without ſo much as one man to make head, by reaſon, ſayde they, that kept that guarde, that they were not able to hinder the comming of the aſſailante, it being not poſſible to deſcrie or perceyue them, vntill they were come

to

to the breache, in ſuch ſorte as the Spanyardes aryuing there in aboundance, and calling vp one an other, it was an eaſie matter to make them ſelues Maiſters, finding no perſon to make reſiſtaunce.

The Admirall onely accompanyed with foure, whereof one was a Page, and going to gather together his Troupes and make head, as ſoone as he was there aried, ſawe himſelfe enwrapped of all partes. Knowing then howe that it reſted no more in his power to remedie this diſorder, the Towne being alreadie full of ſouldiers, the Almaines entring in by great Troupes, hee fought as much as hee was able to fall into the handes of ſome Spanyarde, as it rightly chaunced vnto him, choſing rather in that place, to abide the brunte of a common generall fortune, and all ſucceſſe, eyther good or badde, then by flying away to attayne an immortall ſhame. He which tooke him priſoner, made him a while to repoſe himſelfe at the foote of the Rampire, where he was all aloane, hauing loſte all his Forces: from thence hee ledde him, and made him to enter into one of the Mines, which hee had made to gayne the Ditche, where hee founde at the entrie thereof, the Captaine *Alonce de Cazieres*, Mayſter of the Campe, of the olde Spaniſhe bandes, to which place the Prince of Piemont ariued incontinently, and commaunded *Cazieres* to carrie him into his Tente.

Thus was that fayre and riche Towne of S. Quentins conquered on the ſeauen and twentie daye of Auguſt, 1557. in which they founde great booties, and mightie riches, in that it was the Staple of ſundrye Marchaundiſes, which were tranſported into the Lowe Countries, and likewiſe brought from thoſe places thither, thorough the entercourſe of trade and traficque. Without comprehending beſides many good Priſoners, which they founde there, as well of thoſe of the Towne, as of ſuch other chiefe Perſons and Captaynes, as were come in for the defence thereof. *D'Andelot* was likewiſe there taken: but well remembring the badde entertainement which he had receyued at their handes during his impriſonment in Italy, hee choſe rather to aduenture his life, in ſeeking to eſcape, then to fall agayne an other time into that calamitie and miſerie. In ſuch ſorte, as he crept vnder the faſteninges of a Tente, and by night hauing founded diuers paſſages within the Marſhes, hee founde meanes to eſcape their watches, and Corps de guardes, and ſaued himſelfe at Han.

The Towne of S. Quentins very riche and full of great booties.

De Iarnac was there taken Priſoner, ſo were *S. Remy*, *De Humes*, *De la Guarde*, *De Cuzieux*, *De Moulins*, the Captaines *Brueile* and *Bretaigne*, *De Rambouillet*, *Saint Romain*, *Saint Andre*, *Lignieres*, and *Soleil*.

There were ſlayne there, the ſonne of *La Fayette*, the Captaine *Salleuert*, Enſeigne to *La Fayette* his Companie, the Captaynes *Oger*, *Vignes*, *La Barre*, *L'Eſtang*, *Gourdes*, with ſundrie other.

After the Sacke of Saint Quentin, King *Philip* making no outwarde apparaunce of his intention, cauſed the King and the Duke of Neuers his Lieutenaunt generall to prepare for all occurrentes the beſt that they were able: and eſpecially to prouide for ſuch places as were neareſt to that which was taken. But as he was earneſtly ſollicited to this effecte, by euery Gouernour, to ſende ſuch prouiſions as were requiſite, they were all aſtoniſhed at the yeelding vp of Caſtelet, which a fewe dayes before the taking of Saint Quentins, the Compte of Aremberge otherwiſe called *Brabanſon*, encloſed about in one inſtaunte with a thouſande horſe, all alongeſt the mariſhe, and towardes Saint Martins Abbey: a little aboue which were encamped three Regimentes of Lanſquenettes of fourteene Enſeignes, with twentie peeces of

Meanes of well employing an Armie.

Batterie planted in two places.

And albeit that the aſſurance, which the Baron of Solignac who commaunded there, had yeelded to the King and his Lieutenaunte, cauſed them to repoſe on that ſide, whileſt that they haſted forwardes the Swizers and Almaines, the Frenche Fanterie and Canallerie, to furniſhe out the Rende-vous, ſo as within fiueteene dayes they mought make vp the fourme of an Armie, yet euen in the very beginning of September it yeelded vp. The which was founde very ſtraunge, conſidering that the place was ſtrong, and well prouided of all that was neceſſarie to a Frontire: at the leaſt it was looked for, that they ſhoulde haue tarryed the Aſſaulte. An occaſion that the King cauſed him to be clapped vp Priſoner as ſoone as hee was come to Paris.

But hee was ſet at libertie, declaring howe hee had beene diſappoynted of ſuch neceſſarie Succoures as hee required, of two thouſand men, in ſuch ſorte as *D'Eſtre* the Gouernour in former time had vpon any Siege. Beſides that, the enemies hauing founde the Caſtle without any ditche, on that ſide where they beganne their principall Batterie, and a Baſtion fallen downe not yet repayred vp, in ſuch ſorte behaued themſelues, as that the ordinarie ſouldiers of the Guarde of that Baſtion, were ſoone conſtrained to abandon it, thorough the great quantitie of Bricke and mould which endamaged them, and ordinarily fell vpon them: the Batterie beeing ſo violent and furious, as in a ſmall ſpace it made a waye for a horſe to be able to get vp vpon the Baſtion, the waye lying all open to come from thence to the breache, which albeit it was not altogether ſufficient, waxed wyder within two volleyes of the Cannon, and enlarged it ſelfe ſixe ſcore pace, or more, the Wall alreadye bowyng and yeelding of the ſame length, and the earth opening a pace in breadth, and in deapth the length of a pike.

Which the Souldiers once perceyuing, who were not in the whole nomber three hundred, nor halfe of them in health and ſtrength, they were ſo aſtoniſhed, and deſpayred, that notwithſtanding any perſwaſions which the Captaynes coulde vſe, many ſtucke not to ſaye, they woulde not fight at all, not knowing howe they were able to doe the King any Seruice therein, and therefore they thought it better to reſerue themſelues for ſome matter of greater importaunce.

Howeſoeuer it was, whether grounded or no vpon the feare which they conceaued the Frenche were in, leaſt that the Imperialles woulde purſue further their good fortune, and duetie againſt ſuch an inconuenience, King *Philip*, to whome the beſiegers of the Caſtelet, came to vnite themſelues at Fon-Some, attended their aunſwere of his aduertiſement from the Emperour his Father, to congratulate with him his proſperitie, beſeeching him further to commaunde and ordayne what next hee was to enterpriſe.

But as a blade ruſteth if it be let lie continually within the ſheathe, ſo the ſouldier which is not employed, doeth lightly abuſe his reſt. For the Almaines and Spanyardes quickely mutined among themſelues for the bootie of Saint Quentins, and raunſome of the priſoners which were taken the day of the Battaile: ſome alleadging among other occaſions, howe that King *Philip* and the Duke of Sauoye ſought to retyane all the great priſoners which exceeded a certayne ſumme, of purpoſe to pulle them out of the handes of the Almaine Lordes, who without all doubte atchieued the greateſt honour of the Battayle, ſo farre forth, as they were all readie to departe, the rather for that the time of their oath was now expired. An occaſiō the french did

turne the matter to their owne aduantage, withdrawing out of that nation as many malcontents as they could finde vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. Hereupon the Spaniarde addressed himselfe to Han, to erect a stronge place vpon the frontiere, which might serue for a succour and support to S. Quentins, the which hee determined to make impregnable, according vnto such models as the enioyners had prescribed vnto him, thereby to establish from his lowe countries easie dayes iourneyes of retreat, when he would either goe in or come out of Fraunce, as it shoulde seeme best vnto him. Now as vpon new occurrents alwaies proceed new determinations, the D. of Neuers being constrained to chaunge the estate and imagination of his defensiue, retired his men of warre from sundry garrisons, which he had into such places as were neereſt vnto Han, to the ende that the imperials shoulde not inlarge themselues into any greater a compasse, likewise to the ende they might alwaies wast the country before them, and famish them by cutting of their victuailes on all sides, the french had deuised to make a remouing Campe, which for this effect they might enclose and assure with trenches, Palissades and other Rornane inuentions: but the longe delay of their prouisions and soddanes of their enemies cleane broke of this determination. The *Cheualier Hely*, with a number of horse entred within the place to succour it, running ouer as many enemies as durst stoppe the passages of Han, which hee found open without any thinge to commaande it beinge flankerde on the one side with the Riuer of Some, and on the other with a Marish, being in diuers places aboue one hundred thousande paces broade, hauing very little firme or drie grounde to bee able to set foote vpon. There is a village and a Castle, the village in the state which it was then in was not able to holde out in any kinde of sorte: and albeit that there were certaine foundations and fashions of bulwarkes, yet they were so open and euill to bee defended, as that there was no account at all to bee made thereof. The Castle was of a goodly shewe, and representedd it selfe furious enough, according to the olde fortifications, beeing in forme square, flankerde with fower rounde bulwarkes, with a grosse square towre, and massiue, of a large thicknes, seruing for a platforme to the Courtines, which were ioyned vnto it, and commaundinge in all and through all the Castle. But the whole was of drye stones and Masons worke, without any rampiers of earth, or other fortifications, according to the moderne inuentions to sustaine & defend a place long time, against the blusterousnes and furie of our Cannons. Notwithstanding that the way might not bee altogether open and free to the Spaniarde, to enter further in if he found not a stoppe, *Sepeis* which was Gouernour, had giuen the Kinge aduise to burne the towne, in case seege were laide vnto it, whereby the enemie might haue no place to lodge in. But as for the Castle, men might holde and keepe it for a fewe dayes whilest that they shoulde bee the better able to fortefie themselues: for it was easie to iudge that hauing taken Han, hee woulde neuer ende there, but passe on further, where he might cast himselfe nowe on the right hande, and nowe on the lefte, and so daylie addresse himselfe to such places as were weake and likely in a shorte time to be caried, to the ende he might not lose and euill employ the season, which serued so fitte and proper for him.

Description of the situation of Han.

I haue let you to vnderstande, how that to bee meete with the inconueniences of the battell of Saynte Quentins, among other preparatiues the Kinge had sent vnto the Duke of Guise, that after that hee had to his best aduauntage accorded with the Pope, and the Spaniardes, hee shoulde bringe awaye the Armye into Fraunce with as much speede as were possible. This Prince sodenlie let the

Pope

Pope to vnderſtand thereof, and made him priuie of the neceſſity which called him backe into Fraunce, and how his Princes affayres went. Beinge the cauſe which made him to beſeech his holines to licenſe him, and permit him to retyre, after ſuch time notwithſtanding as he had compounded to his owne profit the eſtate of his affaires. The Pope then being alredy deſirous to ende this warre, from which hee knewe that on the other ſide to bee proceeded as hee ſawe it euidently, and doubted leaſt it woulde take ende with the ruine of one of theſe Princes, and finally with his owne, together with a confuſion of the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, and infinitnes of other miſcheefes, purpoſed more then before, to bee agreed with Kinge *Philip*, which wrought that ende, whereof I before made mention. So as the peace beinge concluded and publiſhed with all magnificence on Sonday being the 19. of that moneth the Duke of Alua entred into Rome, about one of the clocke in the after noone, with great apparances of ioy, aſwell by the ſalutations of the artillarie, as an infinite number of ſquibs, and other merimentes, which they are accuſtomed to make eſpecially in thoſe parts, at the welcome and amiable entertainement of any great Prince. The Monday following they helde Conſiſtorie, where there were choſen & deputed two Legates, to intreate of an vniuerſall peace. The one which was the Cardinall of Tiuoli, towardes the moſt Chriſtian Kinge of France, and the other which was the Cardinall *Carlo Caraffe*, towardes the Catholique King *Philip*.

The Duke of Guiſes departure

The Duke of Guiſe in the meane ſpace departed out of Italie, to take his way into Fraunce, and to imbarke himſelfe at Oſtia in the gallies & french veſſels which attended him with a ſorte of Lordes, Captaines, and two thouſande harquebuſiers, the other parte of the Armye vnder the conducte of the Duke *D' Aumalle*, returned through the Popes lands towardes Bologne and Ferrara, and ſo from thence they paſſed all for the moſt parte through the Griſons and Zuizers into Fraunce, where the Duke of Guiſe beinge arriued was ſodenly ſent for to addreſſe an armie at Compienne. At which place the Kinge being anone after arriued, declared (all ſuch as were then in Courte beeing preſent,) howe that the Duke of Guiſe was come iumpe for the preſeruation of his Realme, and it was propoſed to treate him Viceroy of Fraunce. But this title beinge thought ſtrange, it was commaunded that letters ſhoulde bee diſpatched to make him Lieuetenante Generall ouer all the Countries within his obedience. The which were diſpatched by *Du Thier* ſecretarie of the Commaundementes, and afterwardes receyued and verified by the Parlamente of Paris, and other ſoueraigne Courtes of the Realme: whereof notwithſtanding ſhortely after the Kinge excuſed himſelfe towardes his Goſhip, (ſo he named the Conſtable) ſendinge him worde by ſecreate Letters that hee was conſtrained to doe as hee did, and that hee ſhoulde not bee greeued for ought, in that hee ſtill reſerued his place for him, for he was ſo farre off, from hauing the frendſhippe which hee boare vnto him any wayes cooled through his abſence and captiuitie: that contrariwiſe it inflamed him the more, ſo farre as that hee moſt diligently aduertyſed him of all his ſecreteſt affayres, without communicating ought to any other. Whereof Kinge *Philip* being aduertyſed, knew well enough how to make his profit as you ſhall ſee elſe where.

The Duke of Guiſe made Lieutenant Generall by the K. ouer all his countries.

K. H. s. letters to the Conſtable being priſoner.

In this ſame tyme there happened in like ſorte, ſtraunge floudes, and inundations of Riuers at Rome, and likewiſe at Florence. That at Rome fell out the ſame day of the peace, beeing the fourteenthof September, Tiber, one of the moſt renowned Riuers of Europe, which ſome notwithſtandinge number amonge the ſwift ſnowie ſtreames being greatly ſwelled, as though it woulde threaten Rome

with

with great ruines, encreasinge howrely, for the night following it began to inlarge it selfe ouer all the lowe groundes, of the medowes and vineyardes rounde about. The next day it being encreated and broken in throughout the towne, all the channels and gutters of the streetes and houses standing full, the depth thereof was found in some places of the towne of the height of a man, and more in the place *D'Agone*, *A la Rotonde* and *A la Dogane*. So farre was this merueilous and dreadfull inundation, from giuing leasure to the people to reioyce at this peace, as that it made them more astonished and desolate then before, which caused a number to thinke that it happened as a signe and aduertisement from God, eyther for matters present, or to come, or rather to moue vs to a conuersion and amendement of our sinnes. Nowe this furie of the water endured all that day and vntill fowre of the clocke at night, that it began a little to ebbe and decrease, so as by the next morning at breake of day, it was ebbed more then a shaftemente, and then by little and little decreasing, euery man in the afternoone might easily goe about his busines. The depth of the water, as some haue saide, in many places exceeded the marke which was left at the other inundation in the yeare 1530. Others were of opinion that it wanted an handbredth. Whereupon they alleadged many reasons, among other that the Caues which were made and coured within Rome (for it is augmented in buildinges a third parte) had receiued and swallowed vp a great parte of the water. Some iudged that the great number of newe streetes was a cause of the depth, and other affirmed howe that the earth which was rayled vp since that time, caused it seeme higher then it was. But they which iudged it to bee the greatest, say that it fell out so, for that in the towne of Horta and Narin, and all other places where it passed alongest, it left behinde it a great abatement and ruine of houses: hauing caried away halfe the bridge of Saint *Marie*, together with the excellent chappell which Pope *Iulie* the thirde caused to bee builded there: it vndermined and remoued certaine great peeces of marble, & great quarters of stone which defended the bridge of Saint Ange. It raysed and ouerturned a great parte of the bulwarkes and bastions which they had caused to bee builded a yeare since ioyning to the Castle. Besides that it threwe downe halfe the Temple, and most parte of the buildinges of Saint Barthlemewes monasterie seated in the Ilande of Tiber. Briefely, there was not within all Rome, either pallace or building, alongest which this furious rage of waters had passed, which carried not some marke and testimonye of the wrath and violence of this angrie Element. As touching that of Florence by the breaking forth of the Riuer Arno, men iudged it farre greater then that at Rome, and to haue occasioned farre more incomparable and important losses as well in ouerthrowing of houses, as in the destruction and perishing of golde, siluer, marchandises and other sortes of mouables, besides which is more to bee lamented, the death and suffocation of many persons. It first ruined and ouerturned for the greatest parte the Conuents and monasteries of the pore maidens of Sainte Verdiane, of the Recluses, and of Saint Mary Nouelle. It caried cleane away the bridges of Rubiaconde, and La Trinite. It threw downe almost the whole borough of Oquo Fanti, as farre as the Medowe, and on the side of Sainte Paule, as it likewise did the newe market place, where they exercise the Arte and occupation of skening and twisting of silke. In such sorte as all the store houses and shoppes were for the most parte ruined, beinge a merueilous losse. The Dukes pallace was no whit excepted, but was founde spoyled in a number of places. As touching the region bordering rounde about the

Signes serue for admonitions from God

Ruines caused at Rome by the floode.

Description of the floode at Florence.

the high way to Cazenſin, it was ſo deepe and ouerflowne in ſuch a manner, as it coulde very hardely bee repayred to bee made paſſable, and in the borough there dyed ſeuentie and foure perſons, carying the houſes cleane to Pontaſienco and there remayned cleane ſunke. Pereolle, and Saynte Douin, with many other buildinges all alongeſt the floode Arno.

Moreouer to ſpeake of the depth of the water vpon the place of Saint Croix, it exceeded foure good fingers in depth the inundation which happened at Florence in the yeare one thouſande fiue hundred forty and ſeuen: which made men iudge the latter to bee very great conſideringe that the former was almoſt vncredible. It was the height of one fadome and a halfe at Saynt Croix: in ſuch ſorte as the loſſe was ſo great and generall, as the Duke remitted to his ſubiectes for a certayne tyme, the moſt parte of his taxes, and ſubſidies, which otherwiſe were very great.

Flood at Niſmes in Languedoc.

At the ſame time, there happened in like ſorte, on this ſide, an other floode at the towne of Niſmes in Languedoc, differinge notwithſtanding from the reſt, in that it was not by the breaking out of any floudes or riuers, but by the powring downe of the cloudes, and opening of the gates of heauen, (as the Philoſophers were wonte to terme it) the which accident befell the ninth of September in the ſame yeare, together with ſo feareful thunderings, flaſhes & lightnings as al the people verily immagined that that wold haue been the very laſt day of their life, this celeſtiall furie laſtinge vntill it was paſt eyght of the clocke at night, beſides that, there fell from elſe where ſo meruelous and great an aboundaunce of water, as theſe miſerable and wretched Cittizens thought that together with their whole towne, they ſhoulde haue beene ſunke and ſwallowed vp. And albeit that it laſted not long, but about ſome twelue or fifteene houres, yet notwithſtandinge it did greatly endemnifie and hurte the towne which was in very many romes and places diſformed thereby, and the territoryes thereaboutes greatly waſted and empouerifhed: for that the fieldes and places of tillage were marueloufly couered with ſtones and other ruines, ſuch as the rage of waters driueth alongeſt, and leaueth at ſuch time as the force and violence thereof diminiſheth, and the Oliue trees (wherewith this Prouince much aboundeth with great care of trimming them for the great profite, which is drawne thereby through the oyle) were all bruſed and broken, and the Vines clungd together and full of ſande, with an infinite number of other dammages and calamities. Briefely many men thought that there was not almoſt any thing which felt not the waight of Gods wrathfull hand in this flood.

Hereby then were diſcouered ſundrie antiquities, hidden and buried vnder grounde, at the leaſt ſince the Gottes ſacked and rayzed this towne, a thouſande yeares agonne, as well appeared, howe longe before vnknowne: as aunciente ſepulchers and Monumentes, great quantity of meddalles in copper, and ſome of golde and ſiluer, longe pillars of one peece equally proportioned, teſtaments, Epitaphes written in harde ſtone, and grauen in peeces after the Romaniſquo. There were diſcouered likewiſe fayre and rich pauementes, and floors of lowe parlers, chambers and ſhoppes, wherein were founde tables of marble, Porphir, & Iaſper, wrought a la Moſaque: beſides there were founde many fragmentes of ancient diſhes, and ſome entire, of a redde earth, ſo paſſing fine, and ſleake, that it caryed his owne verniſhe: the which men in aunciente time cauſed to bee brought from

from farre Countries, especially from Samos in Greece, enriched with stories, or clownes resemblances very pleasante. Many other singularities were there vnterred and brought to light, with great meruaile to as many as sawe them. Sundrie other places of Europe were likewise touched with the same mischiefe and calamitie, as numbers of celestiall signes, such as the Comet of the yeare before, pillars of fire, and in some places hunting of dogges, crying in the ayre, and some men fighting, and two sunnes, red and inflamed, such as were seene in Almaine: besides many other prodigious and monstrous workes, which nature brought foorth in that time, vpon the earth, all which signes coulde not bee adiudged to bee any other thing then threatninges and messengers of the celestiall wrath, which shoulde warne vs eyther to a voluntarie acknowledginge of our sinnes, and amendemente of our liues, or assure vs of a vengeance at hande, and punishmente of our iniquities.

Han battered & taken by King Philip.

To returne to the siege of Han, it had no sooner endured twelue hundred cannon shotte together, which made a reasonable breach; as well at the great Tower, as the Courtyne, the walles being there drye without rampiers and bastions, but it was yeelded and giuen ouer into the handes of Kinge Phillip, the twelft daye of the moneth of September. Afterwardes hee remayned there a while, to aduaunce and set forwarde the fortifications which were alreadie begunne, addinge thereto as much as was supposed to haue beene forgot. And whilest that the Baron of Poleuille, hauing beene sente by Kinge *Phillip* at his departure from Sauerne, aduaunced forwarde to ioyne himselfe in Champaygne, with twenty Ensignes of Almaines, and twelue hundred horse, occupyinge himselfe in the places borderinge about hee sent to sease all the stronge places remayning in the handes of the Frenche, which were any wayes able to annoye the garison. Then causing a number of horsemen furnished after the French fashion to enter in, hee surprised Noyon, and the companies of light horse of the Baron of Clere, and one of the Scottishe, vpon whome they entred at fayre day, the gates being open, from thence they seased vpon Chauny, where they placed a stronge garison, not for to fortifie it, considering the imperfection of the place, and howe it was to bee commaunded two seuerall wayes, but onely that thereby they might the more easilie gather the Vines: the vineyardes thereaboutes being very good and of great compasse.

Noyon surprised by disguising of rayments

Likewise to fauour the conduct of all other kinde of victualles wherewith they mente to furnishe Han, Saynte Quentins, and Le Castellet, which they fortified amayne: besides the great easance of the better Milles which stoode vpon the Riuer. Thus fortifying these two places, they passed ouer the moneth of September, and beginning of October, in roades, pilfryes, and burninges, as well on the one side as the other, still weakening notwithstandinge *Philips* Armie, as well through the Englishe mens returne home malcontentes, for want of their booties, and euill entertainemente, as in respect of the Almanes, who their oath being nowe expired retyred day by daye to the Duke of Neuers, who furnished with them his bandes, that were not compleate, and erected newe ones of the surplusage.

The Kinge in the meane space hastened forwardes his armie, and to assemble it together at Compiegne, sente thither the Duke of Neuers, who speedily employed himselfe to the makinge that stronge and defensible, adding to the naturall all arte possible, for that necessarily, and as it then stoode it serued for a frontire

The diligence of the D. of Neuers at Compiegne.

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to Fraunce firſt cauſing two large fortes to bee rayſed, with high and fayre platformes, the one to commande ouer all the plaine, which lieth betweene the forreſt and the towne, and the other ouer all the lowe grounde, and courſe of the riuer, and alongſt the medowe, employing beſides all diligence to repaire the towne, flankerde with baſtions, cazemates, tarreſſes, caualliers, and trauerſes, in ſuch ſorte as in caſe the enemies artillarie had arriued there, they ſhoulde haue founde play for a longe ſeaſon: moreouer, he cauſed the encloſure of a campe to bee appointed out, and rayſed vp with trenches, ſo large and ſpacious, as that an armie of a hundred thouſand men, was able to lodge there, with all furnitures and prouiſions, as ſafely as within a towne, together with all eaſances as well of the Riuer as of the country. As hee thus prouyded for the aduancement of theſe fortifications, ſo ſpared he his purſe no more then his ſpirit, to the entertainement of ſpies, ſent out into all partes. So as hauing vnderſtoode the very force and ordinarie vſage of the twelue hundred horſe which lay in garriſon at Chauny, ſtill ouerrunning without ceaſe, and with great aduantages thoſe about Coucy & Soiſſons, he gaue the rendeuous to Bourdillon, the Prince of Conde, and Counte de la Barbize who conducted the Reiſtres, to ambuſh themſelues within Chauny woods whileſt that hee woulde ſende *Ienlis* to beginne a skirmiſh to the helpe whereof ſuch as came out of the towne, being no ſooner drawne thither then kept backe, the light horſe gayned both the towne and them: ſo as the Captayne of the Albanois, and his whole troupe was cut in peeces. But the Spaniſhe Captayne getting into a houſe, which hee perced through, held good vntill that the French harquebuſiers had wrapped him in on euery ſide. The which made him in a deſperatneſſe ſteppe forth, his courtelaxe in one hande and buckler in the other, to die honourablie with the reſt of his fellowes, but as hee was giuing his faith to the Captayne *Launay*, hee killed him, harde by the Prince of Conde who had done as much to the French man, if the ſwearing vnto him, howe that this Captayne had killed the moſt valiant of his ſouldiers, and had euer made fowle warre vpon the French, eſpecially at the defeate of Saint *Laurence*, hee had not beſought him to pardon this his iuſt chollar, which had ſo farre caried him for the amitie of his countrimen.

The Baron of Poleuille, paſſing in this time ouer the mountaines of Vaulges, and the Countie of Ferrette, and coaſting *Le Baſſigni* entred within the French Countie, betweene the Countie of *Mont-Belliarde*, and *Langres*: where thoſe of the Countie vnder colour that they were conſtrayned thereunto, contrary to their promiſes, and pactions of neutralitie, gaue him paſſage, victualles, and all other prouiſions for his campe. Afterwardes hee came downe into *La Breſſe*, hoping within very fewe dayes to make himſelfe maiſter thereof, through certayne intelligences which hee had with ſome gentlemen of that Prouince, and other of their neighbours which were euill affected to Kinge Henrye. So farre, as at his firſt abord hee planted his ſiege before Bourge, which is the principall towne, thinkinge to haue founde it vnprouided of all thinges for defence. But *La Guiche* which was gouernour thereof, and the Baron of Digoyne his Lieuetenant being aduertiſed of his comming, had already cauſed *La Guiches* company to enter in, and ſome other troupes of footmen.

On the other ſide you might perceiue aboue, how *D'Eſchenets* with his company followed him continually neer hand, as alſo did *De Iours* with his 8. enſignes of the legion of *Champagne*, who kept him continually ſo neer a neighbourhood, as they were as ſoone at *Bourg* as himſelfe, into which they entred, doing therin a great peace of du-

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tie and ſeruice to the King, and ſo was he founde fruſtrated of his firſt opinion. Vpon the deſſeine, and purſuite of this Siege, the Kings Armie which returned out of Italie, ariued at the iumpe, ſo as the two thouſande harquebuſiers, which were ledde by the Vidaſme of Chartres, entred within the Towne. And from elſewhere they cauſed foure thouſande openly to approache thither, & three thouſande Lanſquenettes, the whole Company which ariued and dayly came beeing ſtayed and lodged about, as well in Breſſe, as Lionnois, and Maſcanois, being all reſolued with full intention to charge when the firſt occaſion ſhoulde be but offred. In the ende after that he had three ſeuerall times remoued his Campe before the place, the ſixetenth day of October, *D'eſchouets* about the entring in of the night ſente fiftie harquebuſiers out of the Towne, to viewe his Campe, together with the countenaunce & aſſure dneſſe of his men, who hauing at their firſt ariuall killed the Sentinelles, thruſt in, and broke vpon their Corps de guardes, whome they maſſacred in parte, and cauſed the reſt to flye, putting the reſt of the Armie into ſuch a fryght, as from that houre it diſlodged: And it made ſo great ſpeede to retyre, as before that the French coulde haue certaine newes thereof, and be ready to follow, they were foure leagues off. Where leauing many ſicke perſons, victuals, and moueables, hauing taken agayne the waye to the French Countie, from which they were come, ſhortly after the Troupes brake of themſelues, and abandoned the Baron their Chiefe, for that he perfourmed no iotte of what he had promiſed vnto them.

The meanes which the K. vſed to leuie an Armie againſt the Spanyard.

Nowe albeit that the deſſeins of this Baron were thus turned into ſmoake, and the great fire of the Almaine, Engliſhe, and Spaniſhe Armies, ſeemed to ſmother and decreaſe by little and little, ſo many Nations notwithſtanding being banded againſt Fraunce, coulde not chuſe but greatly diminiſhe the Forces thereof, and prepare a moſt certayne ruyne to the whole Realme, had the Frenchmen wanted heart to defend themſelues, or good will to make ſupplie to ſuch neceſſarie meanes, as mought beſt ſtoppe the courſe of the Spaniſhe fortune. For King *Henrye* being no leſſe curious, in ſuch occurrences to rayſe vp and encreaſe his honour, then to preſerue his people from the euill which was threatned, for eſeeing the number of Forces, which woulde be neceſſarie for this purpoſe, and howe his Finances beeing drawne drye, there woulde reſt no meanes of furniſhing a paye, excepte he were ſuccoured from elſewhere, was counſelled to renewe the practiſe of his auncеſtours, to witte, to ſeeke ayde and fauour of his people, to whome hee coulde not more commodiouſly declare his neceſsitie, and perſwade them to furniſhe out his charge, then by calling together the generall Eſtates of his Realme. The which he cauſed to be done at Paris the ſixte of Ianuarie, where all the Deputies being aſſembled in one of the Halles of the Pallace called *Saint Lewis hall*, the Prelates and Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters arrayed with their rochettes, and ſurplices, were placed vpon ſuch ſeates, as on the right and leſte hande were prepared for them: and on a ſtage vpon the right hande high rayſed vp, were the Baylifes, Seneſchals, and other for the Nobilitie. Vpon a benche bellowe, couered with floure de lices, were the Preſidents of the Parlamentes. At the ende whereof, vpon an other leſſer forme on the ſame ſide, ſate the Kinges learned Counſell, of the Parlament of Paris, the two aduocates, and proctours of the King. In the middle of the rome, there ſtoode a little ſquare table, couered with a carpette of cloth of Siluer, at which there ſatte three Secretaries of the commaundementes, and two other a little further vpon a lowe forme. At the foote of the Kinges chayre of Eſtate, ſatte the generall Treaſourers of the Finances, aboue whome and in the fulleſt place of viewe of the whole Hall, were ſette two Chayres, the higher being

The generall Eſtates of France aſſembled by the K. to declare vnto them, his neceſſities and ſeeke ſuccour againſt Spayne at their handes.

being couered with purple Veluet pouldred with Flower de Luces Golde, being the Kings ſeate, and a pace and a halfe off, almoſt on the ſame ranke there was an other ſomewhat lower couered with cloth of Golde, for *Monſieur le D'Auphin* his Sonne. And on the top hung vp a cloth of eſtate ſutable to the K. Chaire. The Prouoſt of the Marchants of Paris, the Sheriffes, the Deputies of Rouen, of Lyons, of Tolouſe, and conſequently of the reſt of the Townes, were ranged on the Biſhops ſide where there was greateſt roome. Anon after ariued the Knights, hauing their great order about their necke. To wit the D. of Neuers, the Prince *de la Roche Sur yon*, the Comte *de Sancerre*, *Durſ*, and *de Bordillen*, who mounted vp on the right hand aboue all the Nobilitie, hard by the D. of Lorraine, and the reſt of the young Princes. By and by came the K. and *Monſieur le D'Auphin* his Sonne, accompanied with the Cardinals of Lorraine, of Bourban, of Guiſe, of Caſtillon, and of Sens. The Kinge being ſet, *Monſieur le D'Auphin*, and the reſt of the Cardinalles ſat downe on the ſame ſide.

The K. declaration to the eſtates of his Realme.

Vpon this the King began to deliuer how ſince his comming to the Crowne he had had continuall war with the Engliſhmen & Bourguignons auncient enemies of Fraunce. Into which warre hee was conſtrained to enter, for the recouerie of ſuch Frontire places, as his enemies had vſurped, as Boulonnois and the reſt, and howe that to furniſh the defraying of the ſame, hee had beene conſtrayned to ſell his owne Domaine, and afterwardes impoſe manie Subſidies vppon his people, wherewith to his great greefe they ſtoode ſore oppreſſed: That for the regarde and conſideration of them, hee had offered to obtaine place, albeit it was at verie preiudiciall conditions for himſelfe, but onely hee was mooued thereunto for the ſingular deſire which hee had to keepe his people in a peaceable eſtate, whome hee had alwaies founde moſt faithfull and enclineable to his obedience and ſeruice. And for ſo much as hee ſtoode aduertiſed that his ſaid enemies, were in a farre greater deliberation then euer, to enterpriſe and aſſaile the Realme of Fraunce, hee repoſed all his whole truſt after God, in the fidelitie and ſuccours of his ſaide Subiectes, and therefore hee purpoſed to make a ſtrong, great and extreame warre, thereby to recouer a good peace, as of meere neceſſitie being compelled thereunto. But for ſo much as money is the principall ſinew of warre, he earneſtly beſought euerie one of the ſtates, that they would now ſuccour him to reſiſt the enemie, and that afterwards hee would employ all his endeuour, to attaine, and preſerue his Subiectes in tranquillitie: Promiſing in the fayth of a good Kinge and Prince, that hee woulde from thence forwarde ſo graciouſly vſe them and ſettle all thinges in ſuch an order, as euerie man ſhoulde haue occaſion to contente himſelfe, and that for pledge of his good will and affection, hee chooſe to make this promiſe in publicque, and in his Sonnes preſence, to the ende that both of them might thereby bee comprehended, and bound to the performance of the ſame.

The Kinge hauing finiſhed his ſpeech, the Cardinall of Lorraine, holding the firſt place, and ſpeaking for the eſtate of the Church, beganne a moſt learned ſpeeche and Oration, and gracelye pronounced, which laſted the ſpace of an hower, as well in the prayſe of the Kinge, as yeelding vnto him thankes for his good will and promiſe: Concluding that they woulde all ſubmit theyr bodies and goodes to his will and good pleaſure. The Duke of Neuers ſpeaking for the Nobilitie in fewe wordes ſayde, that they were ſo affectionated, to his ſeruice and the Realmes defence, as that they preſented vnto the Kinge not onely theyr bodies and goodes, but alſo their liues. Afterwardes Sainte *Andre* firſt

Preſident of Paris, anſwering vpon his knees, in the behalfe of the law, and all the preſidents of the reſt of the Parliaments of Fraunce, firſt thanked the King for the good and honour which it had pleaſed his Maieſtie to do them, in erecting a fourth eſtate of the Lawe: and alſo to manifeſt vnto his Subiectes, his good will and affection, with ſundrie other ſpeeches and thankes giuings, tending to the prayſe of his greatneſſe, and of his promiſe, in that hee woulde ſo couragiouſly maintaine warre, by repelling of the enemie, to attayne a long and perpetuall peace for his Subiectes, and afterwardes to redreſſe all thinges into theyr order, to the repoſe and contentment of euerye one offering on the behalfe of that eſtate, not onelye the goodes but the verie bodyes of the officers of Courtes: for the laſt eſtate of the commons, and Deputies of Townes, *Du Mortier* ſtepped vpp, and hauing made three great reuerences, hee moſt humbly thanked the Kinge for the good will which hee beare vnto his Subiectes, in ſeeking to preſerue them in peace, after reſiſtaunce of the enemie, eſpeciallye hee approoued and greatlie prayſed, the good deſire which hee had to ſettle Fraunce agayne in good order, which had ſuffered manie diſorders thorough the neceſsitie of warres, which notwithſtanding albeit that the poore people were alreadye weakened and waxen feeble in theyr power, yet woulde it rather let it ſelfe bloude, that after hauing expoſed vnto him their bodies and goodes, they might likewiſe ſacrifice theyr liues for the defence of the Realme.

After that all the Deputies had finiſhed their propoſitions, before that the Kinge roſe, the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the greate Seale, kneeled downe before the Kinge bowing downe his head verie lowe. Afterwardes ryſing vp hee returned towardes the aſsiſtantes, and ſaide, that the Kinge had commaunded him to vſe this ſpeeche vnto all the people. That to beginne to reſtore all thinges into a good diſpoſition for the comforte and repoſe of Fraunce, euerie one of the Deputies of the Townes ſhoulde ſet downe in writing all theyr grieſes, and put thoſe pointes into Articles which had moſt neede of reformation, and then deliuer them into the ſaide *Du Mortier* his handes. Vppon which the Kinge with the Lordes of his Councell, would particularly order euerie one, as hee ſhoulde ſee needefull, and in ſuch time, as they ſhoulde bee made priuie vnto. And that the Deputies ſhoulde not departe out of the Towne, vntill they had more amplie vnderſtoode the Kinges pleaſure. This being ſaide, the Kinge aroſe, and after himſelfe being retyred, euerie man tooke the waie of his retreate. Certaine daies after the Deputies of the Townes, were ſent for to the Cardinall of Sens his lodging, where they found the Cardinall of Lorraine, with other of the priuie Councell. There the Cardinall of Lorraine, deliuered vnto the Deputies of the Townes, the ende and ſcope of his aſſemblie, to witte that the Kinge woulde borrow three Millions of Golde, and that hee woulde haue found out three thouſand perſons within his Realme, which might lend him euerie man a thouſand Crownes, declaring how that the Cleargie had alreadie offred a thouſand men, which ſhould lend euerie man a thouſand. That the Townes of Fraunce ſhould find two thouſand men, and that the K. would diminiſh his taxes, for the eaſe of his common people which was greatly oppreſſed therewith. And that there ſhould bee no more cuſtome put vpon marchandiſe for the entertayning of traficque, charging the ſaide Deputies to doe one of the two thinges, euerie man to giue a parte by him ſelfe the Roles of ſuch as were able to furniſhe money,

and the other to giue in writing to *Du Mortier*, all ſuch Articles as ſeemed good vnto them for the reformation of cauſes. At their departure the deputies conſulted together, and concluded it touching the charge which was giuen vnto them; they were not able to giue anie roles of names, for that it was vnpoſsible for them to bee able to know the eſtate of the perticular perſons: for ſuch a one is oftentimes reputed to haue money which hath leaſt. And for to diſcharge themſelues from giuing anie ſuch Roles, they went the ſame daie to the Cardinall of Lorraine, to whome they declared that it was vnpoſſible to giue vp any ſuch Roles with any certaintie, by reaſon that they were not poſsibly able to knowe and vnderſtande the abilitie and meanes of the inhabitants: for as muchas ſome man hath ſtore of goods in apparance which hath no money at all. And for the regard of Marchants which worke vppon their credit, many a one maketh great ſhow, and traficques outwardly, which is neere enough at hand to be come bankroute. Afterwards they of the priuie Counſell deliberated of the matter.

Whereuppon conſidering how that the Deputies of Townes, were not able to make vp anie true Rowles, thorough the vncertaintie of perſons habilities, they concluded that they would charge and taske in euerie Towne ſo many men as ſhoulde lend money: and if they were not able to lend a thouſand Crownes, then to lende fiue hundred, augmenting the number of perſons. The fourth eſtate afterwardes gaue vp Articles for the reformation of cauſes, according as the preſent time required. Briefely in the ende the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate garunted vnto the King in a pure guift, a Million of Golde beſides the tenthes. And the fouth eſtate two Millions of Golde, declaring further vnto him, that if that woulde not ſuffice to maintaine the warre, and compell the enemie to harken to ſome good peace, they would expoſe al that remayned of their goods and perſons at his ſeruice.

Hereupon the King perceiuing all his forces to be ioyned together in one, ouer which, and his whole Realme throughout, hee had already declared the Duke of Guiſe his Lieutenant generall, determined that the conqueſt of Calais, & the countie there abouts ſhould be the firſt exploite thereof; and ſo the aduiſe of thoſe which councelled him to aſſaie to recouer ſuch places as were loſt, was differred vntill a better ſeaſon: conſidering that they were wel enough prouided to hold out a long time, that winter approached on; his troupes being come from ſo farre off, eſpecially his men at armes, being altogether wearie with their great paines taking the Sommer before. And the whole Countrie cleane waſted, and eſpecially vnprouided of all victuall, and ſourage, thorough the continuance of the warres paſſed. Now as the gentle harte awaketh, and groweth affected according to the good or euill example of an other, and chiefely in ſeeking to doe beſt, when any hatred or iealouſie is intermingled, ſo this Generall, being curious to make it appeare, that to blot out the Conſtables diſgrace, he had no ſmaller meanes vnder the winges of his Prince, then the D. of Sauoie ſupported by the K. of Spaine, endeuored by his long ſecrete and continuall diligence, to take his aduantages, as happily as the Prince of Piemont had done in his former exploits of Picardie. Therefore vndertaking vpon his honour, the conduct and finall execution of *Senarpont* Gouernour of Boulonnois his olde and ſo often differred ſecret enterpriſes (to the purſuite wherof the Conſtable marched, had not the deſaſtre of S. Quintins croſſed the courſe of his good happe,) and perceauing how all thinges had of a long time beene made ready, aduiſed, that the better to take away anye ſuſpition from the Spanniardes of his intente and meaning,

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the Duke of Neuers should carrie halfe the armie into Campagne, giuing out that he went to batter Luxembourge, Arlon, and other places which Frontered vpon his gouerment, and that the other part should remaine with the D. of Guise only to hinder any entire victualling which should bee brought to such places as had beene newly conquered. But the Duke of Neuers seeing that nothing presented it selfe of suddaine taking, that the Spaniard had dispersed his armie, in fortefying the places about Luxembourg, which were euill enough prouided, sent backe his troupes with all diligence to the Duke of Guise; who in the meane space bending towards Amiens, as it were to victuall D'ourien, and after to strengthen Ardres, & Bolongne, found meanes to vnderstand and learne the passages, forces, estate and desseins of them of Calais. Wher vnderstanding how that al things remained in the same state, as they left them, with a great promptnes he presented the choyseſt of his men before the fort of Nieullay on the first day of Ianuarie. Where finding at their ariuall a little fort palissaded & rayſed vp with earth: which the English men had builded at S. Agathe, a smal village neere hand, and at the beginning of the cawsie which leadeth to *Pont de Nieullay*, he caused it to be assaulted by two thousand Harquebusiers chosen men, seconded with thirtie horse, with so great a furie, as hauing put backe an Ensigne of those which kept it, comming out to the skirmish, by fauour of the Cannon, and of the Marish which was couered ouer with a three-score horse, hee caused them all in the end to abandon it, and retire themselues to the great forte of Nieullay.

The port of Nieullay taken from the Englishmen, and how.

The which at the first bound greatly astonied the English men, for they expected nothing lesse then such an encounter, and no waies the French forts to bee either so great or so neere at hand. And contrariwise this victorie at the first augmented the others courage, and put them in a great hope of attaining their principall end, when as they perceiued their enemies at the first entrie not to be able to withstand them. At the same instant albeit it grew alreadie verie late, the generall and *de Termes* went to view the port of Nieuillay, and presently were the approches and trenches begon, into which as soone as the Artillerie was brought, it was planted with all possible diligence, to begin the batterie as soone as day would appeare. And for that all the fruite which they hoped of this effect, did require a great promptnesse, to the ende the besieged might grow astonished without any leasure to looke into themselues, and to put them cleane out of hope of looking for any succour, at the same time, this Prince caused a parte of his armie and Artillerie to march on the left hand all along the Downes to occupie them and gaine an other forte which lyeth at the pointe of the Downes called Ricebanke, the which commaunded and helde all the hauen subiecte, so as no vessell of the enemie coulde enter in. Likewise it was verie necessarie for the obtaining of the Towne of Calais after, to seaſe at one blow vpon the fortes which kept the two passages, whereof that Nieullay, kept and defended all the causies and passages by land, part of them being Mareshie, to the end the Flemings might be cut off from succoring them. And the other which is called Ricebank being taken, woulde keepe anie succours from landing which might be sent out of England, this hauen of Calais, which *Cæsar* called Iccius Portus, being distant from the first hauen of England which is called Douer, but fiue leagues off the Seas, able to bee passed ouer with a leading gale in two howers. Therefore the Duke of Guise hauing all the night, together with the D. *D'aumalle* his brother, the Marshall *Strossy*, *De Termes*, *D'Estre*, great master of the Artillerie, *De Sansac*, *De Tauannes*, *De Dandelot*, and *De Senarpont* reuisited, and well viewed the Downes, approched yet neerer to

the forte of Ricebanke; and all at one inſtant, the Sea being verie low ebbed, hee cauſed the young *Alegre*, and an other Gentleman, to bee conducted by *Rendan* vnto a certaine place of the porte, where hee knew there was a paſſage, for to ſound it. As it was done and ſpeedily diſpatched, it was reſolued among all the Captaines, to batter and aſſaile theſe two forts together at one time. In which *Deſtree* trauailed ſo diligently, and cauſed the Vaſtadours and Cannoniers to take ſo extreame paines, as on the next morrow, being the fourth of the month, his Artillerie was readie planted three howers before day againſt theſe two places, and as ſoone as day peeped: beganne to turne againſt the Engliſhmen. The which amaſed in ſuch ſorte thoſe which were beſieged within the fort of Nieullay, as at the ſecond vollie they quitted the place, and in all haſt retired themſelues within the Towne. The Duke of Guiſe, hauing in this ſorte, made the firſt paſſage open, cauſed the French incontinentlie to enter, and be lodged within, where he found a great deale of Artillerie, poulder and munition. Afterwards to ſtop all other ſuccour, which might by land be brought vnto the towne, he cauſed twentie Enſignes of the French Fanterie, & the Almanes of the Reingraue, with eight hundred Reiſters, and two hundred men at armes, vnder the conduct of the Prince *de la Roche-ſur-yon* to bee lodged betweene the Towne and the Mariſh behinde the cauſees. Leauing beſides *De Termes*, with other companies of Cauallerie, Gendarmerie, and Zuizers, vpon the paſſage from Guines to the Downes, whether this Prince with the reſt of the armie went to encampe. An hower after the taking of the fort of Nieullay, they which were within the forte of Ricebanke, yeelded themſelues vnto the diſcretion of the Generall, of whome they were verie courteouſlie entreated. And thus this Prince remained ſeaſed, and poſſeſſed in one day, of two principall places, which were of ſo great importance vnto him, and moſt neceſſarie for to enioy his ful victorie with all. Wherfore purſuing at hand, the occaſion, which ſo fauourably with open armes preſented it ſelfe vnto him, the fourth of that moneth he cauſed ſix Cannons and three long Culuerines to bee mounted before the water Gate, and to breake the flankers and defences, he cauſed the earth to bee remooued and filled vp baskets, and Gabiannades therewith, as if hee had intended to addreſſe his principall batterie in that place, hauing with ſundrie volleyes of the Cannon diſarmed that port, broken, and rent a ſunder certaine towers which might hinder him from going to the breach, which he determined to goe in hand withall. Holding thus them which were beſieged in doubt, which part they were beſt to defend, & to prouide for, without doubting any whit at all of the Caſtle, which was ſteepe, drie, and without any Rampires; where all at a blow, he planted fifteene Cannons in batterie, charging and diſcharging all the day long a tempeſt of Artillerie, with ſo great a furie, as towards the night the breach grew verie large, and apparant. So as at the ſame inſtant before it grew night, the D. of Guiſe cauſed *D'Andelot* Colonel of the Fanterie, to paſſe, (with two hundred Harquebuſiers and Corcelets, followed with a number of Gentlemen,) and goe ioyne and fortefie himſelfe all along the Kaye, and breadth of the porte, which was betweene the Downes and the Towne, whether for to come he muſt neceſſarily paſſe ouer a little water: ordaining further that as ſoone as euer he ſhould become maſter therof, euery man ſhould be made worke, to digge vp a trench and trauerſe, with ſuch inſtruments as he had cauſed to be giuen to all the Souldiers, the which might trauerſe and anſwere to the *Doue*, & wall of the Dich, in that place, which they ment afterwards to breake vp, wherby all the waters of the diches might ſue into the porte, and they likewiſe might goe in couert, from the port vnto the diches

The forte of Ricebank rendred vp to the Duke of Guiſe.

The port o Calais occupied by Mr Andelot and his French companies.

ches. Besides the courage, which greatly conducted the worke of the French, the commoditie to haue euerie thing readie, and at hand helped them verie much: for they had so long before artificiously prouided all matters necessarie for this siege, as especially to cause the men and other munitions to passe ouer the Ice, and marcshes, they caused a great quantitie of Hurdels with Pease strawe to bee brought by Sea, to the end that the water might not eate, perce, nor corrupt the. And the better to couer the Harquebusiers by reason that the sand, and grauel was alreadie discouered and in view, they had caused a great number of stakes and Pale-bordes of drie woode to be brought, of the strongest and lightest they could choose, of a mans hight, and halfe a foote in thicknes, couered all without, three or fower fingers in thicknes, with writhed paper one ouer an other, so as the Harquebuse coulde not easily enter, hauing a rest beneath, at the foote whereof was an yron Pike, of a foote and an halfe long to fasten it into the ground how hard soeuer it were; behinde these blinders the Harquebusiers might shoot easily thorough a litle hole which was in the middest therof. The D. of Guise seeing how greatly the breach opened, and that three volleyes of Cannon might make it reasonable, determined as soone as he could to giue the assaulte. In the meane time to holde his enemies continually in alarums, and to stoppe them from Rampiring any waies, he caused *Gramont* at eight of the clocke at night vpon the ebbe of the Sea, to passe with three hundred the best Harquebusiers of his troupes, to goe to view the countenance of the besieged, and with a peale of Harquebuse shot, to dislodge those which should present themselues vnto them. And at the same instant the Marshall *Strossy*, with other three hundred Harquebusiers, conducted by the Captaine *Sarlabos* and a hundred Pioners, went to gaine the other end of the port to lodge himselfe in the little houses, which were there: and so fortefiyng himselfe with a good trench to remaine there, and commaunde all the porte. Notwithstanding the bullets flew so hot about their eares, as after fiue or six souldiers and Pioners were slaine, they were faine to retire, and come backe to the Generall, who was not farre off, hauing already aduaunced neer vnto the port with *D'Aumale*, and the Marquisse *D'Elbeuf* his brethren, *De Montmorency*, and *De Bouillon*, followed with many Gentlemen. In the meane time this Prince hauing caused the breach to be thrice viewed, as well by *Bracasse* as by others, and being aduertised that it was time, and that it was readie for the assaulte without any longer delay, gaue the token, and caused *Gramont* to aduance among the first, with his Harquebusiers, assisted with as many Corcelets, conducted by the Marshall *Strossy*, followed besides with two hundred other souldiers: and himselfe on the other side hauing waded as deepe as his girdle, went foremost before the rest of the troupes as farre as the foote of the breach. At which the French gaue an assaulte, with such an hardinesse and Impetuositie, as after hauing cut a peeces such as they encountred at the first, they constrained the ouerplus in a short time to quite the Castle, which they cleane abandoned to retire themselues into the Towne. Thus being aduantaged of this passage and first entrie within Calais, the D. of Guise commaunded them to fortefie themselues, and looke that they might not bee thrust out, leauing *D'Aumale*, and the Marquisse *D'Elbeuf*, his brethren, their Captaines for the rest of the night, and himselfe, for that it began to flow, passed ouer to the armie on the other side, to the end he might send them succours by day breake, and to be meete with any disorder which might chaunce to happen. When the English men come againe to themselues, and had gotten their wits together, they greatly repenting the fault which they had cõmitted, in hauing so sodenly abandoned the Castle, whereby they saw a ful ouerture made for the French into their towne, they returned with a

Instruments by art inuented for the siege of Calais.

farre greater hardineſſe than before to recouer the peace againe, iudging that thoſe which were within could not long abide it, and that they could not be ſuccoured, by reaſon that it was floud, and the ſea of a great depth. Thereupon they came violently vpon the French, which attended them with the lyke courage, but with more aduantage. In ſumme, they found ſo great a reſiſtance made, as they were beaten back with a farre greater loſſe than before. But remaining full of opinion that they might regain theyr caſtle, they brought three peeces of artillerie vpon the other end of the bridge towardes the towne, to blowe vp the gate and ſcoure thoſe which ſhould defend it, and from a platforme which was vpon one of the corners of the great place, they ſhot in an infinite number of Cannon ſhot, ſo as it would haue bene thought that no man in the world durſt haue ſhewed himſelfe there, and afterwardes they redoubled another aſſault, more furious than the firſt. Now if it were well aſſaulted, it was better defended, for hauing liuely put them backe, and more than three hundred of their braueſt men lying on the ground dead or hurt, the French in the end ſhut the gates, and ſodainly rampired them behinde, vpon which all courage and hope afterwardes fayled thoſe which were beſieged, So as from thence forwardes they thought it good rather to parlie, and treate of ſome fauourable compoſition, than to make anie longer reſiſtance. Whereforeon the morrowe morning *Wentworth*, who was gouernor therof, ſent two of the principalleſt men of the towne to the Duke of Guiſe, who demanded verie great conditions for their aduantage. In the end they ſtooped & were content with theſe Articles.

That they ſhould haue their liues ſaued without anie force, or diſpleaſure offered to man, wife, maide, or child. All the inhabitants of the towne ſhould retire themſelues whether they woulde, either into England or into Flanders, with ſuch paſports and ſafeconducts as ſhould be thought neceſſarie for their ſuretie and paſſage, my Lord Wentworth remaining with fiftie ſuch other priſoners of warre as the Duke of Guiſe woulde chooſe out. And for the reſt of the men of warre, they ſhould be bound to paſſe ouer into England. They ſhould leaue behinde them the artillerie, powder, bullets, armour, enſigne, and generally all kinde of munitions, as well of warre as victualles, within the towne, without breaking, burning, hiding, or endemnifying anie thing at all. As for golde, ſiluer, monie, or not monie, goods, moueables, marchandiſe, and horſe, all ſhould remaine in the diſcretion of the Duke of Guiſe to diſpoſe of, as it ſhoulde ſeeme beſt vnto himſelfe.

All which things beeing accorded on the eight of Ianuarie, this Prince began to put out a great parte of the people out of the towne, and the reſt followed according as it was promiſed, without hauing anie wrong or diſturbance done them, without anie one Engliſhmans remayning there. But well an incredible quantity of pouder, artillerie, munition, wolles, and of all ſortes of victuals, which were ſtaide, and the ſurpluſſage giuen in praie to the ſoldiers. After this manner, and in leſſe than ſeuen daies ſpace, was Calais & her fortreſſes cõquered, which as thẽ was eſteemed impregnable, before which (as the Chronicles of France doo witneſſe, during the raigne of *Phillip* the ſixt, named *De Valois*, and in England, of *Edward* the third) the Engliſh armie layd ſiege during the ſpace of one whole yeere. In the end they which were beſieged within the towne, were driuen to ſo great a neceſſitie and famine, as they were faine to eate rats and hides of leather, *Iohn de Vienne* commaunding there, it was yeelded the third daie of Auguſt 1347. wherby the Engliſh inioyed it two hundred & ten yeres, during which ſpace they bragged how they carryed the keyes of France at their girdle, beeing able by this meanes to enter and depart the realme at theyr pleaſure. But as one *Phillip* king of France loſt it, ſo dyd the French againe conquere it from another *Phillip* king of England. It was onely incloſed with ſtone walls, full of round towers,

ioyning neere one another, firſt builded for ſpeare and ſhielde, arrowes, or anie other inſtruments of warre without fire, after the old faſhion, and without anie rampires, or other deuiſes or ſubtilties, ſuch as are now a dayes inuented agaynſt the force of our artillerie. At this houre it is iudged to bee one of the fayreſt and ſtrongeſt townes of warre in all Europe. For as much as beſides the naturall ſituation therof, in a place vnacceſſable, for that it is inuironed three partes with riuers, brookes, and mariſhes, and the fourth ſide defended with the ſea, with a great and ſpacious porte, not beeing ſubiect or to bee commanded by anie thing. The arte and inuention of man hath giuen vnto it a forme more ſquare than otherwiſe, new clothed without wyth great, large, & maſsiue rampires, hauing at the three corners towards the mariſh three great bulwarks, in point triangle-wiſe, wel flanked and armed to couer and defend the curtines. And on the other ſquare towards the downes ſtandeth the caſtle, by which, for that it was not knowen, or the imperfection not remedied, grew this laſt taking of the towne. Beſides, this towne is wholy inuironed with large ditches, and maruellous deepe, with ſprings at the verie bottome, alwayes full of water, by reaſon of a little riuer which commeth from Hames, which paſsing thorough the towne, watereth them, & filleth them full, as well as all the reſt of the little brookes which breake out of the mariſhes, fall downe, and ſew thether for the moſt part. But which is more praiſe-worthie in a towne of war, there is one of the faireſt ſquare publike places as is poſsible to behold, in which at the leaſt may bee put in battell betweene foure or fiue thouſand men, and the reuenue and profite of the port muſt needes be better, for that it is one of the principalleſt & moſt renowmed townes of the Ocean ſea, whether there is brought from all partes of the world an infinite and ineſtimable riches, and of all ſortes of marchandiſes, and from thence lykewiſe they are diſtributed into ſundrie other Countries. Now whileſt that they battred the towne, the thunder and bruite of the artillerie being heard within England, the Queene to remedy the ſame, cauſed a number of ſhips to bee prepared, which ſhe furniſhed with ſouldiers, and all kind of munitions fit for anie ſuccour to bee ſent thether. But when they approached, and alreadie perceiued the colours and white croſſes to waue vpon the tower of Ricebanke and wals of the towne, without comming anie neerer, they returned backe to carrie report thereof home into their countrie.

Deſcription of the Towne of Calais.

The towne of Calais beeing ſurpriſed in ſo ſhort a time, there grew afterwardes ſome diſputation to which of the two they ſhould addreſſe themſelues, either Graueline or Guines, for ſo much as theſe two fortreſſes ſeemed to bee lyke two ſhoulders to ſupport the towne, and as two ſtrong bulwarkes to cloſe vp the two principall paſſages thereto, to wit, Graueline for Flanders, and the lowe Countries, and Guines for France.

Guines & Graueline as it were two ſouldiers ſupport Calais.

Notwithſtanding theſe propoſitions being amplie debated of and diſcuſſed, the more ſound opinion reſolued, that Guines imported much more for the conſeruation of Calais than Graueline, although it were far ſtronger and of more difficile acceſſe. According to which aduice, the Generall of Guiſe, without giuing anie great leaſure to the enemie to bethinke himſelfe of anie remedie, purſuing neere his victorie, the thirteenth of this moneth beſieged Guines, where *Grey* commaunded, wyth a good number of men of warre, and all other kinds of munitions requiſite. At theyr arriuall the French finding the towne abandoned, lodged there for their better help, towards the battering and aſſault of the fortreſſe which was ioyning thereunto. But the Engliſhmen ſurpriſing them as they were growen into a great diſorder about theyr lodging, ſallyed out at a poſterne gate of the caſtle, and thruſt them out vpon the firſt fury,

ſetting

ſetting in ſpight of them the better part of the houſes on fire, and afterwards retired: but the D. of Guiſe cauſed them to begin the breaches, albeit the Artillerie gaue impediment enough thereunto. So as with an obſtinate aſſurance, and without intermiſsion he cauſed the worke to bee purſued. Where hee himſelfe, to augment theyr courage and to ſerue for an example to euerie one, was ready with the firſt, and had his Mattocke as ſoone ready in his hand to make way for the Cannon as the meaneſt Pioner in the troupe. And in ſuch ſort continued in preparing the ground and dreſſing vp of Gabionades, as within three daies after, hee approched and put the mouth of his Artillerie to the number of thirtie fiue peeces of batterie, iuſt vpon the border and counterſcarpe of the diches, to batter as well pointe blanke, as trauerſing in three places principally, one of the greateſt and principalleſt bulwarks, which flancked on the one ſide the Courtine of the Gate, and on the other their great bulwarke which they called, the keape, vndertaking at the firſt one of the ſtrongeſt of the bulwarkes, in hope after to obtaine better cheape ſome of the leſſe and ſmaller ſorte. Thus verie ſudainely began the batterie. The which endured without ceaſe two daies & a halfe, in ſuch a furie, as within ſo ſhort a ſpace there was diſcharged betweene eight and nine thouſand ſhot of Cannon. In ſuch ſort, as this great bulwarke being opened and diſarmed, the breach by the 20. of this Moneth appeared reaſonable for the aſſaulte. But the D. of Guiſe for all that, knowing by how many waies and deuiſes a breache might be repared, and the meanes and ſubtilties which the enemie might inuent, to entrappe them which ſhould make the aſſaulte, and to fortefie himſelfe within, before that he would hazard his Souldiers, thought it good to make the breach more then once to be veiwed, and what kind of acceſſe was made, for to goe vp at. And therfore at the firſt blow he ſent fower of his moſt diſpoſte Souldiers which hee could chuſe out, followed with twentie other reſolute men, who were incontinently retired by his owne commandement. The next morrowe he ſent againe fiue Souldiers no leſſe aduenterous then the firſt. The which gaue verie good hope for the comming to the breach: yet not truſting to al theſe reports, for that he would not vpon too light a credite, make a ſuddaine fricaſsie, of ſo many valiant mens liues, as lightly are the foremoſt in ſuch an exploite, he ſent againe fixe ſcore French ſouldiers, to gaine and preoccupy with the firſt the top and higheſt part of the Parapet, which was on the aſſaylants ſide, that thereby they might couer, and helpe vp a certaine number of Pioners, which he cauſed to mount vp with the ſame tracke, for to plane, and make the mounting vp to the breach more eaſie, which was as yet verie high and rough, commaunding all theſe aduenterers notwithſtanding, that they ſhoulde not vndertake further then they had charge, which they obeyed, gayning with a great number of blowes, and hazard of their life, the toppe of the breach. In the end ſtanding aſſured, that the way was prepared, hee commanded *D'Andelot* generall of all the French Fanterie to be ready with his ſouldiers, that as ſoone as the token ſhould be giuen, he might readely preſent himſelfe to the aſſaulte. And he for to view with his eye the beginning, and ſuch iſſue as ſhould enſue, and if it were poſsible to diſcerne within the breach, & behold the faſhion of the men within, mounted vp a little Hillocke high enough to diſcouer, that for to ſuſtaine and defend that breach, there needed not ſo many men as the firſt thought for. Wherefore all at the inſtant hee cauſed a regiment of choſen Almanes to marche ſtraight to the breach, to open the firſt paſſage thereof, who with great aſſurance, and without any feare of harme were there ouerthrowne. By the like meanes he made ſigne to *D'Andelot* that he ſhold follow him with his troupes which he did, for altogether made a maruelous ſtirre to enter; the moſt part of the Souldiers

Guines beſieged the 13. of Ianuarie.

plonging

plonging and entring within the water, and diches of seuentie foote in depthe, with such an heate and desperate hardines, that they forgotte all danger, albeit that the Duke of Guise had caused bridges to be builded ouerthwarte the diches, with pipes, and caske linked one to an other, vppon which they had cast plankes and iuyce, and bound them fast together. All this notwithstandinge such a vehemente furye pushed them forwarde, as they had no regarde neyther to bridge nor passages, through the verie desire which they had to enter. And yeat their impetuositie was not so greate & furious, but that at the first bounde they were repulsed, the enemies greately helping themselues through their artificial fires, & fighting for their life with a strange & incredible obstinacie. The which the Duke of Guise perceauing, came downe the litle hyll, and thrusting hymselfe into the middest of them, reprehended some, solliciting other, and preuailed so farre with the rest, as he restored in such a sorte their heart into theyr bellye, that turning their face, and beginning a freshe, they redubled with such a corage, and fell to it with so greate a force, as the beseaged fainted vnder the burthen, being no longer able to sustaine this last charge: so as being ouerthrowne, they abandoned the entrie and leste the breache to the Frenche and Almanes, with the losse of more then three or fowre hundered men, amonge whome there were founde neare hand fowre score Spaniardes of the braueste men, and of best reputation: As the rest turned their backes, and were either slaine in the furie or taken prisoners, the same daye the Almanes of *Colonell Reicord* conducted by his neuew, did on the other side force two litle bulwarkes, which had likewise beene battered, where the breach was made, & so was the base courte of the castle wholie gained vpon the same day. The gouernour *Grey*, before this losse, foreseeing the danger which was likely to arriue, had retyred himself with a sonne of his into the olde Castle, & their principall forte, which they called the Bulwarke or keepe, as were in like sorte the principall Captaines, and best soldiars. And had transported in with themselues all their richest moueables. All they hauing a while bethought themselues of their worke, and finding themselues vnable to resist against the fury of the French, determined to parley. And the gouernor Grey sent the same daye two gentlemen to the Duke of Guise, to declare vnto him that in defending of that place, being of so great marke & importance, the keeping whereof had bene committed to him, he ought not to finde it strange nor in euil part, if as an honest man and according to his dutie, he had well defended it, so far as to haue endured the assault: If he should haue don otherwise it had beene against his honor and faith, requiring him in the ende to deliuer vnto him, an honest composition. This Prince hauing vnderstoode his propositions, differred answere vntill the next morrowe, albeit that some counselled him to take him at his worde, considering that he stood as yet vppon his feete and almoste as strong, as at the first, hauing besides this olde Castle whole and entire of a most strong and auncient matter, enuironed with most deepe dyches, and full of water where they must needes make a newe batterye, and where it was possible to retrenche it, the place beyng spatious enoughe: Besides that there rested the greate and large Bulwarke of the keepe, which comaunded al the rest, the whole being garnished with artillery & mũitions and defended by the best aduised, and valianteste men that were. Then on the morrowe being the one & twenteth of this moneth, the Duke of Guise accorded this composition. *That the Soldiors should departe with their armes, but that their enseignes should remaine in the place, with all artillerye, powder, bulletts, and all other kinde of munition, as well of warre as victuals. As for my Lord Grey, and all the Captanes of qualitie which he had with him, they should remaine prisoners of warre, in the power of the King and of the*

Duke

Duke of Guise. This capitulation being receiued & approued by the besieged, the day following there departed thence betweene 900. and 1000. men of warre, part Englishmen, part Borguignons, and a number of Spaniards, besides the common sort, which tooke euery man such course as himselfe listed, franke and free without any harme or displeasure done vnto them, three or fower hundred dead and hurt remaining behinde. *Grey* was retayned prisoner, so was *Mondragon* a Spanish Captaine, who hauing beene before prisoner in the Bastile of Paris, saued himselfe, and was againe committed to ward thither. That done the Duke of Guise, for that this place seemed verie dangerous if it should bee taken againe, and greatly noysome to the high waye from Calais into France, especially in being so neere vnto Ardres, and that it woulde be a double expence to keepe it, hauing caused all the Artillerie munition and victuals to be taken out, caused it to be ruined and razed: in the yeare 1351. The towne and Castle of Guines, were taken by the Englishmen, notwithstanding the truce which then was, by the conspiracie & treason of one named *Gilliaume de Beau Couroy*, Lieutennant to the Captaine of that place, who for this cause, was beheaded, and afterwards hanged. Now there rested no more of the whole countie of Doye, but a little Castle called Hames, which was not restored into the Kings obedience. And for that this Castle, albeit that it was little, and not rampired nor fortefied by any art, was notwithstanding naturally seated in so strong, & as it were vnaccessible a situation, as being enuironed with Fleetes, Motes, and Maresches, hauing but a verie narrow cawsie to passe ouer into it, and that in manie places crossed with wooden Bridges broken and taken awaie, it was almost impregnable to bee gotten from men well furnished and resolute, they were in a great doubt after what manner they might besiege it. In the meane time *Sipierre*, to whome the keeping of this cawsie was committed, hauing the Duke of Lorranes companie whereof hee was Lieutennant, and some other, aduertised the D. of Guise, that they which were within Hames, being frighted, and dismaied at the taking of Guines, had abandoned it, and were fled away by night, thorough certaine by-pathes which they onely were acquainted with all in the Maresches. And so it fel out verie easie to be seased, where they found much Artillerie and prouisions. Afterwards the French remained in all, and thorough all masters, and there was neither forte nor Castle, which was not yeelded vnto them, or abandoned: so that besides the Countrie which the Duke of Guise conquered ouer the Englishmen, and the rich booties which were found therin and taken, there were gained neere hand three hundred peeces of Brasse artillerie, all mounted vpon cariages, and as many of yron.

Mondragon a Spanniarde.

Hames Castle abandoned.

After this the King hauing kept his bed of iustice, with the *Dauphin* and the rest at the Parliament of Paris, and caused a number of Ordonances concerning his owne estate to bee proclaimed, visited Calais with the King *Dauphin*, leauing there *De Termes* as gouernour, with charge to perfite the fortifications such as yousee them at this daye. Afterwardes the rygor of the winter enforced him then to dismisse his armie for to refreshe themselues all sauing such troupes as hee distributed into Garrisons, where hee thought most needé, resoluing to redresse a newe armie at the spring. There was the charge of the light horse bestowed vppon the Duke de Nemours, at the instance of the Duke of Guise, whome he caused to bee preferred, before the Prince of Conde, who at the same time and before had demaunded this charge, whereupon he grew verie malcontente: then the King went to Fontaine Bleau, whether *Anthonie de Bourbon*, Duke of Vendomis, and as then King of Nauarre, thorough the decease of the King his late Father in lawe, came

The K. in his parlament at Paris.

The K. armie dismissed.

came vnto him, ſhewing himſelfe beſides much offended with the D. of Nemours by reaſon of the *Damoiſelle de Rohan*, couſin Germaine to the Q. of Nauarre, who maintained that he had promiſed to marrie her, and vppon that ſued him in the Arches. Madamoiſelle de Rohan. D. of Neuers.

The D. of Neuers being tickled with the good hap which accompanied the Duke of Guiſe, gaue the Rende-uous at *Tuoy* to all ſuch troupes as hee was able to aſſemble together within his gouernment: wher hauing let them all to vnderſtand, how that there was no place more enemie, nor of greater importance thē the Caſtle of Herbemont, in being the principal place, wher all the enemies bandes aſſembled together, and retired from their enterpriſes, hee reſolued to carrie it away. Therefore hauing cauſed it, that night to be encloſed round with the light horſe, the next morning the armie lay encamped, ready to batter the place, after they had well viewed it thorough hot skirmiſhes, vnder the fauour wherof, they had gained as farre as the Courte, and quickely after was mounted and planted a part of the artillerie to batter downe with Cannon, out of the flankers of the Caſtle. But when they perceiued how little they preuailed thereby, by reaſon of the hard and bad ſituation thereof, they planted the Cannon, right in front and at the head, to batter a bulwarke, which couered and defended the onely paſſage and entrance vnto it, which they ſhot off ſo furiouſly, and beſtirred themſelues ſo well in ſo ſhort a ſpace, albeit that the breach was not ſufficient to giue the aſſaulte to, as the deſired parlie, vpon ſome conditions. But being deceiued in his demaunds, and a ſhort anſwere being made him by this Prince, how that he ſhould ſpeake of no other cōpoſition, then yeeld to his mercy, otherwiſe that if he made not good haſt, he ſhould inſtantly bee cut in peeces, with all his, albeit that hee was nothing ſo neere daunger, as the faintneſſe of his heart imagined, truſting in the bountie of this Prince, he notwithſtanding yeeld himſelfe vnto his mercy: of which at the entreatie of *Iametz*, he found experience, the D. of Neuers vſing ſuch ſweetnes, as to ſend him away with his wife, and family, and generally all the reſt of the ſouldiers which were within, their liues & goods ſaued, without being any waies pilled or ranſomed. This done, the Prince ſent a number of light horſe, and Harquebuſiers on horſe backe, to view the ports of Iamoigne, Chigny, Roſignol and Villemont, part whereof they found already abandoned, and the reſt yeelded at the firſt ſummons. They were determined to haue gone yet further forwards, and to haue giuen as far as Neufchaſtel in Ardaines. But the raynes, ſnowes, and great froſtes broke off their deſſeins. Now the only taking of this Caſtle of Hebermont, ought not to be placed among the leaſt, for beſides that it is naturally ſtrong and eaſie to bee made inexpugnable, as being ſituate vpon a high and hard rocke, on all parts vnacceſsible, ſauing by this paſſage, by which it was battered, yet is it moſt proper & conuenient for the aſſuring of the whole paſſages of the Ardenes, all the Champion ouer, and ſeconding the ſtrong Caſtle of Bouillon, to hold in awe all the fortes, of the long forreſts of Ardenes: it appertaineth to the comte Biliſten, and the Rochefort, to the keeping whereof: was appointed the Captaine *de la Croix*, Lieutenant to *Haute-Courte*. The Caſtle of Hebermont yeelded.

FINIS.



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